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An Anatomy of Power: The Early Works of Bernard Mandeville

by

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Summary

The thesis takes Mandeville's medical works at Leiden as a starting point. Translations of his first three works - all originally published in Latin - lay the foundation for a consideration of his approach to medicine, medical discourse and the contemporary seventeenth-century debates on Cartesian thought.

From this basis, Mandeville's early English works are examined in detail. His fables are seen to develop the first stages of a complex theory of imitation which is closely related to his medical ideas on digestion.

Mandeville elaborated this theory in three major works - *The Virgin Unmask'd* (1709), *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions* (1711) and *The Fable of the Bees* (1714). Each of these works is examined in the context of contemporary texts and ideas. Taken as a trilogy, the works are shown to explore the problems of the individual in a rapidly changing society.

The thesis argues that in *The Virgin Unmask'd* Mandeville considers the nature of sexual identity and the various ways in which the new consumer society could operate to determine that identity.

In *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions*, it is shown that Mandeville continues his exploration of the effects of consumerism on the individual. In this text, however, he is concerned with consumption in both its literal and metaphorical dimensions as he fully develops the medical theories on digestion which he had begun to consider as a student in Leiden.

Finally, Mandeville's first edition of The Fable of the Bees is examined in the light of his medical works and his interest in the nature of consumerism.

Through the readings of each of these texts it is shown how Mandeville uses both the dialogue form and the 'Remarks' of *The Fable of the Bees* to equip the reader with a set of interpretative tools. By using his chosen literary forms to question the notions of 'knowledge' and 'ignorance', he offers a perspective from which to 'anatomize' the structures of power that were beginning to take shape in early eighteenth-century England.

Contents

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List of Illustrations

Note on the Text

Texts by Bernard Mandeville that are referred to frequently have been abbreviated in the main text unless a full reference is necessary to avoid confusion. The abbreviations are as follows:

De Medicina Oratio: *Bernardi a Mandeville de Medicina Oratio Scholastica* (Rotterdam, 1685).
De Brutorum Operationibus: *Disputatio Philosophica de Brutorum Operationibus* (Leyden, 1689.).
De Chylosi Vitiata: *Disputatio Medica Inaugralis de Chyosi Vitiata* (Leyden, 1691).
Treatise: *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions* (London, 1711).
The Fable: *The Fable of the Bees* (London, 1714).

Translations of the Latin texts appear in three appendices and each translation is followed by a facsimile of the original Latin text. In the case of *De Brutorum Operationibus* it has been necessary to refer to printer's numerals, giving verso and recto references for quotations because it lacks arabic page numbers. In all other instances the abbreviation 'n. n.' or 'no number' has been used for such texts.

Introduction

For over two hundred years Bernard Mandeville has been unclassifiable. In libraries it is possible to find his best known work - *The Fable of the Bees* - on the philosophy shelves while the critical works on his texts are catalogued as English literature. Much of the recent analyses of his work will be found in the economics periodicals and the reprinted edition of *A Treatise of the Hypochondriac and Hysterick Passions* is presented in a series of 'Classics in Psychiatry'.[1]

However, Mandeville's medical training and his lifetime career as a specialist in nervous diseases has received little attention. It is generally acknowledged that he had particluar medical interests but their relationship to his literary works and to his philosophical development have never been explored.

Furthermore, Mandeville's first three published works - all written in Latin - have remained untranslated and they have received no critical attention. In the following chapters I demonstrate the inextricable links between Mandeville's medical ideas and his literary texts. The Latin works - *de Medicina Oratio Scholastica*, *Disputatio Philosophica de Brutorum Operationibus*and *Disputatio Medica Inaugralis de Chyosi Vitiata* - are translated and included as appendices.[2]

In the first chapter each of these works is considered in turn.

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[1] Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* (London, 1714); *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions* Classics in Psychiatry (1711; New York: Arno Press, 1976).

[2] Bernard Mandeville, *De Medicina Oratio Scholastica* (Rotterdam, 1685); *Disputatio Philosophica De Brutorum Operationibus* (Leiden: Elzevier, 1689); *Disputatio Medica Inaugralis de Chylosi Vitiata* (Leiden: Elzevier, 1691).

The intellectual context in which they were written provides a backdrop for close readings of each text. The first text, written when Mandeville was fifteen, demonstrates the religious dimensions to the physician's role in society in the seventeenth century. At that time, it was believed that the doctor, by curing patients, was restoring them to the state of grace forfeited by mankind at the Fall of Adam. Mandeville would return to this theme continually throughout his life with increasingly sophisticated elaborations of the idea.

In his two university theses he also explored ideas that were to assume a central role in his philosophical thought in England. In the first - *Disputatio Philosophica de Brutorum Operationibus* - he reluctantly defends the Cartesian assertion that animals are automata which are devoid of thought. His changing attitudes to this issue underpin his use of the fable in his first published works. As he develops his own approach to the question of thought in animals, he offers a subtle critique of Cartesian tenets and elaborates his own complex vision of man.

In his second thesis - *Disputatio Medica Inauguralis de Chylosi Vitiata* - Mandeville outlines his theory of chylification and digestion. The medical ideas expressed in this thesis would form the basis not just of his work on nervous diseases but of his conception of the entire literary process.

Chapter two examines Mandeville's early works in English, focusing in particular on the philosophical dimensions of the fable. Through his translations of LaFontaine, he developed his own idea of literary imitation which combined Erasmian principles with medical theory. The fable was a loose and

informal genre which allowed Mandeville the opportunity to reformulate his thought on the nature of animals and man. As LaFontaine had himself debated the issue of Cartesian automatism, Mandeville could easily use his translations as a vechicle for his own explorations. Although he was soon to abandon poetry in favour of prose, his publication of *The Grumbling Hive* in 1705 was to provide the stimulus for much of his later work.[3] After its publication, Mandeville evidently began to search for a new literary style for his work and in 1709 he published *The Virgin Unmask'd*, a series of conversations between an aunt and her niece.[4] This marked the beginning of his fascination with the dialogue form and the book was effectively the first in a trilogy which also included *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions* (1711) and *The Fable of the Bees* (1714).

Chapters Three, Four and Five examine these texts individually. In Chapter Three *The Virgin Unmask'd* is viewed in the broader context of feminism at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Mandeville's text reveals an awareness of the changing status of women in English society. The text draws on the flourishing genre of the advice book for ladies and questions the relationship between patriarchy, monarchy and marriage. Equally, Mandeville acknowledges the rapid growth of pornography in this period and questions the nature of sexual identity and its political role in a consumer society.

Chapter Four offers a close reading of *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions* which relates the text

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[3] Bernard Mandeville, *The Grumbling Hive* (London, 1705).

[4] Bernard Mandeville, *The Virgin Unmask'd* (London, 1709).

both to the medical debates of the time and to the issues of authority and authorship which were being fiercely contested by many writers as Mandeville wrote his trilogy. *The Virgin Unmask'd*, the *Treatise* and *The Fable of the Bees* all were published in London at a time when 'quack literature' was flooding the market. Mandeville was closely involved with many of the writers involved in producing some of the most controversial and challenging 'quack' texts.[5] In the *Treatise* he puts this involvement to use, as he questions the nature of medical discourse and the authority of the physician. The dialogue form is further extended in this work to serve as a therapeutic device, transforming the reading of the text itself into a nostrum. Within this self-conscious framework, Mandeville outlines the dangers inherent in an accelerating consumer society and attempts to foster an awareness of the nature of this new social system.

Finally in Chapter Five, *The Fable of the Bees* is examined in the light of the Mandeville's previous works. The dialogue form is seen to be replaced by another 'loose' stylistic construction based on the prose remarks of Pierre Bayle's *Miscellaneous Reflections, Occasion'd by the Comet* and the structure of emblem books.[6] Mandeville's early medical training in Leiden is shown to have a vital influence in this new structuring device as the 'Remarks' are used to anatomize 'The Grumbling Hive' within a moral framework similar to that used in Leiden anatomy

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[5] Roy Porter, *Health for Sale: Quackery in England 1660-1850* Manchester: Manchester UP, 1989.

[6] Pierre Bayle, *Miscellaneous Reflections, Occasion'd by the Comet* 2 vols. (London, 1708).

theatre. Furthermore, the *Fable* is read in the light of Mandeville's medical development. The operation of the passions in a consumer society is seen to have a physical dimension. Mandeville always emphasises this as he explores the idea of a 'thinking body' which began with his thesis on Cartesian philosophy in 1689.

Previous criticisms of Mandeville's work have always placed the greatest emphasis on *The Fable of the Bees*. Here, however, I have placed more emphasis on Mandeville's medical thought and on *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions*. By narrowing the focus to the medical dimsension of his work, I hope to reveal its shaping influence on all other aspects of Mandeville's work. As many other critics have dealt ably with the economic and ethical debates surrounding the *Fable* I have generally left these considerations to one side. When I have broadened the focus of this study it has been to explore Mandeville's development of his own aesthetic theories, again a dimension of his work which has received little attention. As the importance of the visual arts to medical history is only now becoming a subject for research, I believe the relationship of Mandeville's writing to the viewed image can offer a stimulating model for further research.

Chapter One: Man or Beast?

Bernard Mandeville was born in Rotterdam in 1670. His father was a pestdoctor in Nijmegen before moving to Rotterdam where he established himself as a successful doctor and a Lieutenant of the Rotterdam militia. His son testifies to this success in a passage in *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions* (1711) where he claims that his father also specialized in nervous disorders and that this encouraged him to enter the same field,

> Application makes every thing easie, tho' I should hardly have ventur'd upon it, if I had not seen something of it, *a teneris*, and been led into it by the long experience of a Father before me, who, when he died had been a Physician above 38 Years, in two very Populous Cities, and as he had some success in the Distempers we speak of, at the very beginning of his Practice, tho' it was general, so it cannot be imagin'd, but that through the whole course of it he must have seen numbers of Patients that labour'd under them.[1] [p.40]

Commenting on this passage in the Preface to the *Treatise* Mandeville adds that

> The two Populous Cities there meant, are Amsterdam and Rotterdam; in the latter of which, the Physician mention'd in the same Place, lived in Repute above Thirty Years, and for the greatest part of that time in Request among the better sort of People than any other; as no body can be ignorant of, that lived there before the year 92, and knew any thing at all.[2]

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[1] Bernard Mandeville, *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions* (London, 1711) 40.

Success in medicine had become almost traditional in the family as Mandeville's uncle, grandfather, and great-grandfather had all been doctors too. His great-grandfather Michael de Mandeville had, in fact, been the official doctor of Nijmegen and had distinguished himself in the outbreak of plague in 1635. The Mandeville's, then, had a high standing in society and were used to assuming the responsibilities of public office.[3]

As befitted the son of such a family, Mandeville was sent to the Erasmian Grammar School in Rotterdam which educated the privileged offspring of the city. The school curriculum was based on the broad humanist precepts laid out by Erasmus in his various educational works. Rhetoric was taught, as was the New Testament. Classical authors figured prominently. A curriculum for the school in 1625 includes, among others, the *Colloquies* of Erasmus, epistles by Cicero, works by Terence, Ovid's *De Ponto*, fables by Aesop and Isocrates, several books of the *Aeneid*, Sallust's orations and odes by Horace.[4] It may have been here that Mandeville first learnt to use the dialogue format which would figure so prominently in his later work.

Although we know little of Mandeville's life in Holland it is evident that he was a successful pupil at the Erasmian Grammar School. In 1685, as he prepared to move on to Leiden University, he

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[2] Mandeville, *Treatise* xii.

[3] P. J. Blok and P. C. Molhuysen, *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* (Leiden: A. J. Sijthoff, 1911) 1298-99.

[4] Dr. E J. Kuiper, *De Hollandse "Schoolordre" Van 1625* (Amsterdam: J. B. Wolters, 1958) 10-20.

was asked to give a scholastic oration on his future career. Mandeville, almost inevitably chose medicine. The oration was traditionally given by the most outstanding pupil of each year and in the *De Medicina* there is both a definite sense of the young speaker's self-consciousness and a desire to show-off. Of Mandeville's three Latin works the oration is the most polished performance, reflecting the full range of classical education provided by his teachers. In the course of the speech he quotes Horace, Ovid, Sallust, Virgil and Cicero in the body of the text. Occasionally, he will employ a phrase that has already been the subject of a well-known imitation, as in the following passage,

> Everyone agrees that those inquisitive people - the satirists, comedians, mime-artists, clowns or astrologists - who observe the affairs of others as acutely as either an eagle or the serpent of Epidaurus but are completely blind in their own affairs, can never diminish the praise of medicine by anything they shall say.[5]

The phrase 'as either an eagle or the serpent of Epidaurus' appears in Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* where it alludes to a similar passage in Horace, *Satires* I, iii, 25-28,

> Before examining your own faults you smear ointment
> on your bloodshot eyes, but when it comes to your friends' foibles
> your sight is as sharp as an eagle's ot the Epidaurian snake's.
> Unfortunately they in their turn scrutinize *your* deficiencies.[6]

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[5] Bernardi à Mandeville, *De Medicina Oratio Scholastica* (Rotterdam, 1685) 13. 'Concurrant omnes, quicquid est hominum curiosorum...nunquam quicquam dicent quo medicinae laudes imminuant.'

[6] Horace, *Satires and Epistles*, trans. Niall Rudd, ed. Betty Radice

Erasmus, in using this phrase, was practicing the art of imitation. Mandeville's use of the same piece of Horace may not have been quite so knowing. It is difficult to tell whether he may have been encouraged by his teachers to employ such phrases as simple commonplaces, or whether Mandeville intended them to appear as more sophisticated allusions. The oration as a whole, however, is a form of imitation as it is based on Sallust's prologue to the *Bellum Catilinae*. In his prologue Sallust sets out the opposition of industry and luxury, describing the virtues and labours which founded the Roman republic before outlining the corrosive effects of later idleness and vice. Citing the aristocratic idea of 'virtus' he defends his own decision to retire from public life in order to write his histories. In writing these works and in exercising his natural talents [ingenium] he is, he argues, conforming to the concept of 'virtus' - exploiting his private virtues for the benefit of the republic.

Mandeville, adopting the framework of Sallust's prologue, modifies the arguments outlined in the earlier text. He begins *De Medicina* by quoting a passage from the opening of Sallust's work,

> Sallust rightly said, 'All our power lies in both the mind and the body'.[7]

Sallust goes on to argue that unless the mind guides physical

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(Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973) 50 and Erasmus, *Praise of Folly*, trans. Betty Radice, *Collected Works of Erasmus* 27 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986) 97.

[7] Mandeville, *De Medicina* 3 and Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae*, ed. J. T. Ramsey (California: Scholars Press, 1984) 27.

strength then man will be easily defeated in warfare and society will descend to the level of beasts. Mandeville repeats Sallust's phrase 'ita utrumque per se indigens alterum alterius auxilio eget' [thus neither is sufficient without the aid of the other] but uses it instead to emphasize the need for a healthy body in order to sustain the intellect.[8] Throughout the rest of the oration he continues to stress the mutual dependence of the mind and body, implying that medicine, by regulating this delicate balance, can act as a vital agent of order within society. Using Sallust's defence of retirement and history-writing as a foundation, Mandeville argues that the career of doctor is a natural and praiseworthy use of his intellectual abilities. Acutely conscious of the privileged position he and his audience held within the city of Rotterdam, he directs this privilege and luxury towards the service of society, through the use of Sallust's concept of 'ingenium'

> Here, I urge and beseech you, whom divine generosity has placed in rather prosperous circumstances, that, duly awarding the value of this most distinguished art, you will devote your energy to learning it thoroughly. There is no art more appropriate in a gentleman, whether he places more value on invention or on judgement [vel ingenium, vel judicium]. Therefore, noble scions of manhood, divinely ordained to be more gifted with talent than others, direct your labours towards a most distinguished art, you will never regret the toil expended, nor will you seize more plentiful profit from any other art. Thus it is that when you exercise the fine gifts of you mind: either while you learn, with great praise, those things which others worked out correctly;

[8] Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae*, ed. J. T. Ramsey (California: Scholars Press, 1984) 27. English translation taken from Sallust The Jugurthine War *and* The Conspiracy of Catiline, trans. S. A. Handford (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963) 175.

> or when you add something that had been wrongly understood and render the most useful art much more perfect and complete than it had been.[9]

Focusing on the youth of his audience, Mandeville here stresses the need to direct his listeners' energies into socially profitable activities. It is interesting that even at fifteen he has decided to persuade the pupils to become doctors by appealing to their pride and their selfish passions. Emphasis is placed on the praise and profit that would accrue from a study of medicine, while Mandeville flatters their intelligence. He never forgets, however, to point out the 'divine generosity' which has bestowed these gifts on the students. Throughout his later works the sense of divine influence always remains present, and is often accompanied by reminders of the humility necessary to be a good doctor.

Two other passages in the oration are notable for their similarity to formulations in Mandeville's later works. Explaining what exactly a doctor needs to know, he states that,

> As to the actual parts of the body, it is wonderful to relate how many of these there are, how closely they are interconnected, and what amazing effects they produce. And what of the fact that some of these parts of the body in particular are so small and concealed that they are perceived more with the mind than with the eyes? By means of which parts however - and this is worthy of the greatest admiration - the most important functions of life are carried out.[10]

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[9] Mandeville, *De Medicina* 15-16. 'Hic ego vos...utilissimamque artem multò quam fuerat consummatiorem absolutioremque reddetis.'

[10] Mandeville, *De Medicina* 6. 'Ad partes verò corporis quod attinet...potissima vitae munia peraguntur.'

The early influence of the microscope can be seen in this passage and there are signs of Mandeville's life-long interest in the hidden minutiae of the body and, in broader terms, the 'hidden workings' of mankind.

Later in the oration Mandeville outlines the various branches of medicine and the choice available to his listeners:

> Also there is nothing more pleasant than the knowledge and practice of medicine; whether someone would be versed in the knowledge of diseases and would cónsider their power and nature - examine their causes and discover their effects; or whether he examines medicines and, with the help of fire, draws their powers out of them leaving impurities behind, and then turns his mind to their composition and mixture; or whether someone is devoted to anatomy and the dissection of bodies so that he can examine hidden parts of the body with the eyes and mind, and at the same time admire them; or whether someone devotes attention to the ancillary philosophy of medicine; or whether, finally, he wants to delight the mind in reading the observations of the most delightful doctors.[11]

This careful division of medicine into a series of smaller specialized roles is the first example of Mandeville's belief in the need for specialization in all areas of society. It is, however, dangerous to read too many of his later concerns into this early work. As his grand-father, uncle and father were all doctors, they may have had a decisive hand in the shaping of the oration's medical dimensions. Furthermore, the extent to which Mandeville's teachers at the Erasmian School dictated both the style and the

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[11] Mandeville, *De Medicina* 10-11. 'Nihil quoque medicinae cognitione... observationibus legendis animum oblectare velit.'

content of the speech is difficult to assess. Presumably the pupil's skill in manipulating the commonplaces of the Latin oration were held to be as important as the actual theme of the speech. Certainly in Mandeville's case, the internal evidence of the speech would suggest this to be true as the style displays the full range of the school's classical curriculum but rarely rises above the commonplace when treating the subject of medicine.

Having completed his studies at the Erasmian Grammar School, Mandeville enrolled in the philosophy faculty at Leiden University. At this time the faculty taught not only philosophy but medicine and natural philosophy. Little is known of what courses Mandeville actually attended but it is likely that he was under the supervision of Burcherus de Volder as the title-page of his disputation, *Animal Functions* (De Brutorum Operationibus) names De Volder as the chairman of the ceremony.[12] The public disputation was an opportunity for a student to outline a thesis which he would then defend against arguments from the audience. In *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions* (1711) Mandeville presents one of the few descriptions of this ceremony and the way in which it was conducted:

> *Phil*: It is a Custom in all our Foreign Universities for Students in all Faculties, after having pass'd the several Examinations they are to undergo, before they take their Degree, to compose and defend against all that will oppose, a *Thesis* or Dissertation, the Theme of which is what they are pleas'd to chuse themselves, and always some Head of Point relating to the profession they

[12] Bernard Mandeville, *Disputatio Philosophica De Brutorum Operationibus* (Leiden: Elzevier, 1689) title-page.

> belong to.
> *Misom*: I know it: They are Printed; and being neatly Stitched in Covers of Marble-Paper, distributed among the Scholars: For when I was at *Utrecht*, where I stay'd but three Days, there happen'd to be a Promotion of a Doctor in the Civil Law, or, as they call it, *utriusque juris*; and as I stood in the great Auditory, the Candidate himself, with both his *Paranymphs* (which you know is the Name they give to the two Gentleman, his Friends, that attend him) taking me I suppose for what I was, a Stranger, made way through a great Crowd, on purpose to present me with one, which I took as a great favour, from a Man whom I had never seen before, especially in a Country, that is nor fam'd for manners. The *Thesis* I remember was (a) *de Codicillis.*[13]

The 'great Auditory' mentioned by Mandeville is probably similar to the Groot-Auditorium of the theological faculty in Leiden University where his own ceremony took place. From the title-page we know that his promotion occurred in the morning of the 23rd of March 1689, though it is now difficult to ascertain whether the text of *Animal Functions* was actually read aloud by Mandeville. It seems more likely that the small thesis was used by the public and the academic staff who would test the candidate's ability to defend the text. In *The College of Physicians Vindicated* (1676), Charles Goodall, an English medical student at Leiden, gives a valuable account of the process of promotion. The general preparation which he describes provides a sense of what the occasion must have been like and the more specific details relating to the medical faculty had probably changed little when Mandeville presented his second Disputation, *De Chylosi Vitiata* in 1691

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[13] Mandeville, *Treatise* 120-21.

> the method of taking Degrees in *Leyden*...is after the following manner.
>
> Whenever any Student hath spent a competent time in that University, or any Foreigner comes over to take his Degree; he first makes his application to the Dean of the Faculty, who examines him one hour in the Theoretick and Practick part of Physick; and if he finds him not well accomplished in either, he interdicts him making any farther progress in order to the taking of a Degree, till he be better fitted for so great an undertaking; but if he gives a full and satisfactory account of his proficiency in both; he is sent to visit the rest of the Professors of that Faculty, who appointing a convenient time, do all meet together and examine him two hours. And if he be then approved, they give him two Aphorisms of *Hippocrates* to discourse of next day a quarter of an hour; and then they oppose that explication for three quarters of an hour; after this he is to make and print certain Theses upon what subject he pleaseth, which he sends to all the Professors of the University, who meet him at an appointed hour, and are Judges of his abilities in the defence of those Theses against the four Professors of Physick, who each man in his place acts the part of an opponent till an hour be spent; then is he admitted by the Dean of the Faculty, having obtain'd the approbation of the *Rector Magnificus* and the rest of the Professors of the University to the Degree of Doctor, and receiveth their *diploma* as a testimonial of his due performance of all the forementionⁿd exercises.
>
> This in short is the manner of taking Degrees privately, but if more publickly; the person that takes his Degree is opposed by Non-graduates in that Faculty in their publick Schools, and the Professors of Physick with the rest of the Professors of the University sit by as Judges.[14]

This account provides us with a clear picture of how the theses

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[14] Charles Goodall, *The Royal College of Physicians of London* (London, 1684) 62-63.

were used before the actual promotion began but its role during the ceremony still remains unclear. Goodall's reference to the participation of 'Non-graduates in that Faculty' is of interest too with particular reference to Mandeville. Herman Boerhaave, later a professor of medicine at Leiden himself, was studying in the same faculty as Mandeville and, under the guidance of Senguerd, had presented a series of disputations on the human mind. In 1690 he was to promote a thesis under the supervision of Burcherus de Volder entitled *Disputatio Philosophica Inaugralis De Distinctione Mentis a Corpore* in which he attacked Epicurus, Hobbes and Spinoza. Given his study of the same subject as Mandeville's thesis, and within the same faculty, it is possible that he would have been one of the 'Non-graduates' opposing Mandeville. This must, however, remain merely speculation. What is known, however, is that the university was still involved in an intense debate over Cartesianism when Mandeville presented his thesis. This is recalled by Philopirio, Mandeville's spokesman in *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions*. Mocking the way in which an hypotheses can be subject to fashionable approval, Philopirio describes a battle between an old and new hypothesis saying

> all that fought under the Banner of the old Hypothesis bristle up...Now all arts and Sciences are ransack'd...to maintain their own Leige Hypothesis...In the mean time they that have lifted themselves under the new hypothesis are not idle, and thus both Parties enter into a perfect state of War; the better sort fighting with Arguments, the rest with personal Reflections. This Play is generally continued for a considerable time with

> a great deal of Violence; and I have observ'd as much Hatred and Animosity between the *Aristotelians* and *Cartesians*, when I was at *Leiden*, as there is now in *London* between *High*-Church and *Low*-Church.[15]

The tensions between the Aristotelians and Cartesians which Mandeville describes here reached their peak in 1675 when the Curators of the University were asked by Church authorities to condemn the proposition of two theology professors, Johannes Coccejus and Christopher Wittich. This created an embarrassing problem for the Curators as they had tacitly accepted the influence of Cartesianism in the University, providing Descartes' name was not mentioned directly. In 1676, however, they were forced to list twenty propositions which were to be banned from either public or private debate in the University. Although Coccejus was by now dead, Wittich, the theologian A. Heidanus and Burchard de Volder all protested these restrictions in a paper published in 1676.[16] In retaliation for this affront on their academic authority the Curators removed Heidanus from his professorship after he took sole responsibility for the paper. Beyond this, however, no further action was taken against the Cartesians and any opposition to their ideas was also discouraged.[17]

In the same period Wolferd Senguerd was appointed professor of peripatetic philosophy, presumably as a balancing influence against the Cartesians. Senguerd was not, however, a strict Aristotelian

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[15] Mandeville, *Treatise* 114-15.

[16] A. Heidanus, *Considerationes ad res quasdam nuper gestas in Academia Lugduni Batavorum* (Leiden, 1676).

[17] F. L. R. Sassen, "The Intellectual Climate in Leiden in Boerhaave's Time," *Boerhaave and his Time*, ed. G. A. Lindeboom (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970) 1-16.

as the Curators may have assumed. His textbook, *Philosophia Naturalis* (1680) presents the atomic theory of Epicurus in the terms defined earlier by Pierre Gassendi, adapting it to Cartesian ideas of the world and its natural laws.[18] This blend of Epicureanism and Cartesianism was mixed with some remnants of scholastic thinking and with a sense of scientific doubt.

In 1675, the year of Senguerd's appointment, Burchard de Volder was given permission to begin teaching experimental physics and to set up an auditorium for practical demonstrations. He was soon joined in this enterprise by Senguerd and it is probable that Mandeville attended these classes. This emphasis on physics was accompanied by the rise of the mechanistic school of philosophy. For the medical student at Leiden this meant that the body was to be treated as a machine though the iatro-chemical ideas of Sylvius were grafted onto this view.[19]

Throughout the seventeenth century the question of whether men or animals could be seen as machines was being constantly debated. At the beginning of the century the issue was brought to the fore by thinkers such as Giulio Cesare Vanini who espoused a pantheistic philosophy which denied man's separation from, and superiority to, the animal world. Such ideas were accepted and transmitted by French writers such as Cyrano de Bergerac and Pierre Gassendi.

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[18] W. Senguerdius, *Philosophia Naturalis, quatuor partibus primarias corporum species, affectiones, vicissitudines, et differentias, exhibens* (Leiden, 1680).

[19] A. M. Luyendijk-Elshout, "The Rise and Fall of the Mechanical School of Theodoor Craanen," and C. de Pater, "Experimental Physics," *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975) 295-328.

The status of the human soul became more problematic when Descartes introduced his distinction between the mind and the body siting the soul in the pineal gland. For Descartes animals were machines possessing a corporeal soul.

> We must not confuse words with natural movements, the expressions of emotion, which can be imitated by machines as well as by animals. Nor must we think, like some of the ancients, that brutes talk but we cannot understand their language; for if that were true, since many of heir organs are analogous to ours, they could make themselves understood to us, as well as to their fellows. It is another very remarkable thing that although several *brutes exhibit more skill than we in* some of their actions, they show none at all in many other circumstances; so their excelling us is no proof that they have a mind, for in that case they would have a better one then any of us and would excel us all round; it rather shows that they have none, and that it is nature that acts in them according to the arrangements of their organs; just as we see how a clock, composed merely of wheels and springs, can reckon the hours and measure time more correctly then we can with all our wisdom.[20]

While Descartes also suggested that the human body was a machine he emphasized the presence of an immortal soul in man, claiming that this was what distinguished humans from animals. Although these ideas were first set out at length in the *Discourse on Method* in 1637 they attracted little criticism until the publication of the *Meditations*.[21] This work contained no mention of animal

[20] Descartes, *Discourse on the Method*, trans. Elizabeth Anscombe and Peter Thomas Geach (London: Nelson's University Paperbacks, 1954) 43.

[21] Descartes, *Meditationes de Prima Philosophiae* (Paris, 1641).

automatism but in the *Objections* written in reply by various contemporary thinkers the issue was raised constantly.

The *Objections* were published with the meditations in 1642 and the philosophers who contributed to the *Objections* included Thomas Hobbes and the Jansenist, Arnauld. It was Pierre Gassendi, however, who put forward the most convincing arguments against Descartes concept of automatism. Gassendi pointed out that Descartes' definition of thought includes sensation and that as animals can feel they therefore have a degree of reason and thought. This argument blurred the distinction between man and animal, suggesting that man is in fact simply a higher form of animal. Gassendi also argued that if the soul of man and animal differed in essence then man should be able to perform some mental operations independently of the brain. This, he said, was not possible. Descartes' reply to this was to declare that the mind could perform some functions without the brain and that the brain was basically used for receiving images and for imagining.

The debate on automatism raged throughout the century and continued into the eighteenth century. The question of man's 'animal' nature, the qualities of the soul and the processes of thought were all to become fields of intense speculation and Mandeville grapples with each of these questions throughout the development of his English works. In *Animal Functions*, however, he presents a thesis which outlines the basic criticisms of automatism in the *Objections* and then demonstrates why they are untenable.

Following a brief introduction to his thesis, Mandeville begins by

explaining why philosophers are inclined to ascribe thought to animals, using an example which will become a central metaphor in his later work:

> There are generally two principal arguments by which men are motivated to attribute thought to animals, of which the first is derived from the very operations of animals. This calls on the witness of daily experience, as well as of many astonishing stories, to prove the existence of a mind in animals. But, among the many creatures which they adduce as proof of these things, bees occupy first place. In fact they cannot imagine how, if endowed with no thought, the bees can elect a king among themselves and his attendants, workers, *look-outs, etc.; and how they can build their hexagonal* cells so geometrically and at fixed times fill them with honey; and finally, how they can accomplish many other things, as much political as military. But all these things, if examined without prejudice, prove, I believe, nothing less than the existence of their reasoning power. Indeed, those words 'king', 'attendants', 'polity', and 'warfare' are merely fictions of men. Because, seeing those insects function as generally among mankind a king, attendants, etc. are moved to do, they gave such names to these little animals on account of that similarity: names which are, in fact, no more suited to bees than to the wooden pieces used in a game of chess. And so all of these things, astonishing as they are, prove only this: that they have some movements similar to our own. What then, I ask you, would be the conclusion of this: bees are animated as we are, therefore they think and feel like us? That's no conclusion at all.[22]

By choosing the apian metaphor Mandeville manages to link the criticisms to the tradition of the fabulists, rendering it less 'scientific' in Cartesian terms. He then continues by refuting the

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[22] Mandeville, *De Brutorum Operationibus* A2v. 'Potissima argumenta...nulla certe.'

specific points concerning the soul and the process of thought in the brain:

> The other argument they advance asks us what then is the purpose, if animals do not feel, of those sense organs that are very similar to our own? The answer is very simple, of course - because they perform similar functions in their organic body. For example, animal's eyes receive images just as ours do; volatile particles enter their nostrils in the same way, they twitch the tiny fibres and they perform other organic actions as in our body. If they want to call that sense, that is fine by me, provided that thought is absent. Nothing is required here besides the organic body and motion. But they will insist perhaps that since animals' bodies are so similar to ours, why then do they not enjoy souls similar to ours? My reply is that there does not seem to me to be any logical connection here.[23]

Mandeville's dismissal of these arguments is brief and predictable in its Cartesian stance. The actual brevity of his analysis of such criticisms in the published text, *Animal Functions,* again suggests that it is just a summary of the arguments he put forward in the public defence of his thesis.

Other contributors to the *Objections* are dealt with in subsequent sections of the text. Hobbes, for instance, is dismissed as 'novel, absurd, and impious'. Gassendi, too, is treated in a perfunctory manner when Mandeville summarizes his criticisms as follows:

> Gassendi is next, believing that some kind of an

[23] Mandeville, *De Brutorum Operationibus* A2v-A3r. 'Alterum, quod adhibent argumentum...respondeo.'

> accumulation of the finest particles of the body constitutes the soul of animals, and that it works in them like a little flame for as long as they live; but because those particles, however small and mobile indeed they may be, remain corporeal, and we admit no degree of thought to anything corporeal, deservedly we conclude that this definition is either false or that thought in animals does not follow from it.[24]

With the benefit of hindsight this passage is surprising in its failure to engage with Gassendi's arguments. In Mandeville's early attempts at the fable genre he is eager to consider man as a higher form of animal. Later, in *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions,* he proposes a view of man which suggests that he favours the concept of corporeal thought.

The brevity of Mandeville's dismissal of Gassendi may be indicative of a desire to hide his own beliefs from his Cartesian examiners. Evidence that he was aware of the philosophic divisions in Leiden University comes in his treatment of the peripatetics criticisms. This is the longest section of his thesis and Mandeville's introduction to it hints at the partisan disputes which are pressuring him to choose sides:

> I move on finally then to the peripatetics, several of whose contemporary supporters define the soul of animals thus: they say, "There is in brutes a principle of life, sensation and true cognition". It is appropriate to inspect this definition more carefully than the rest both because its proponents are held in honour and because almost all of those who are opposed to us today favour it.[25]

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[24] Mandeville, *De Brutorum Operationibus* A3v.
'Sequitur Gassendus...cogitationem in brutis non sequi, concludimus.'

Mandeville equates this 'substantial principal' of the peripatetics with the soul and in a long, confusing and quasi-theological passage he eventually rejects it after asking himself the rhetorical question 'But why am I wasting time in a long examination?':

> Now I ask you all, whether it is possible to elicit any other meaning from these remarks than either that they are claiming that the soul of animals, like our own, is immortal, or perhaps that both the souls of men as well as animals, are mortal? Neither of which ideas, however, I think they will prove. Surely in either case it is certain that no distinction *is clearly made between* men and animals, since we have proved that this substance, which they want to appear to be a thinking substance, is also necessarily both rational and immortal.[26]

Having dismissed the critics of Cartesian automatism, he then states his own allegiance to the principle in reluctant terms, as if he is using the 'scientific' principle of doubt to distance himself from any definitive acceptance of Descartes' thought.

> After I had often meditated on this subject, proposing to myself on the one side, the animal functions, on the other, the extraordinary automatons constructed by mechanical arts, I was never able to find arguments that proved in an apodictic manner that animals think, or the contrary. I hesitated in doubt, therefore, for a long time. But, later on, realizing that I could not attribute to animals any thought or sensation, which cannot exist

[25] Mandeville, *De Brutorum Operationibus* A3v. 'Pergo tandem ad Peripateticos...caeteris accuratius inspicere lubet.'

[26] Mandeville, *De Brutorum Operationibus* A4v. 'Nunc omnes rogo...& immortalem existere.'

> without thought, unless simultaneously I attributed a substance to them, distinct from the body in every way, and thus removed all distinction, or certainly the most essential one, between men and animals, rather than be enmeshed in these consequences I preferred to persuade myself that "Animals are endowed with no thought, and all their actions are automatic". And after I adopted this idea I noticed that many functions of their lives could be explained by mechanics, which previously I thought must be controlled by thought. That many, however, remain which I cannot explain from their structure, I freely confess. But this does not present an obstacle to my denying them a soul, just as indeed someone, although not knowing the cause why, for example, a portable watch indicates the time so accurately, nevertheless from its small size will be able to conclude that there is not a man in the watch and that a cause for its motion exists. Thus indeed, although I cannot know the reason why animals perform such operations, I can, however, with justification deny that a soul is the cause of their execution. It is equally contradictory to propose that animals think, and yet are really to be distinguished from us, as to propose that a man is in the watch. Let us not be afraid here to return to god's omnipotence which our adversaries so boast that they attribute everywhere to god and that is better in this context than to settle on contradictions.[27]

With this uncertain declaration Mandeville brings his thesis to a close, noting that he could have said more and will expand on his arguments in 'a mutual discussion'. Again, this suggests that the text is merely the springboard for a public debate and this is reinforced by a series of eight 'Corollaries' appended to the thesis. The corollaries summarize tenets of Cartesian thought only tangentially connected to the main text such as 'Vacuum is neither

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[27] Mandeville, *De Brutorum Operationibus* A5r-A5v. 'Postquam hanc rem saepius meditatus essem...quam in contradictoriis convenire existimo.'

admitted, nor can it be admitted'.[28] It is more likely that these corollaries were included to extend the debate into the main areas of the Cartesian system.

Having presented his thesis, little is known of Mandeville's life until 1691 as F. B. Kaye records

> In 1690 Mandeville was still in residence, but the beadle's lists for 1691 do not mention him, so that it is possible that he was away from Leyden during most of the college year of 1690 to 1691. This would explain his being once more entered in the *Album Studiosorum Academiae* in 1691, the nineteenth of March, on the the thirtieth of which month he took the degree of Doctor of Medicine, apparently returning only for that purpose.[29]

In order to receive the degree Mandeville had to present another thesis, this time on a specific medical topic. On the 30th March he presented a thesis entitled *Disputatio Medica Inaugralis de Chylosi Vitiata* under the supervision of Wolferd Senguerd.[30] Recalling this thesis in *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions*, he says

> *Phil*: It is the custom in all our Foreign Universities for Students in all Faculties...to compose and defend against all that will oppose a *Thesis* or Disputation...Mine was *de Chylosi vitiata*, which I defended at *Leyden* in the Year 1691, Dr. *William Senguerdus*, Professor of the *Aristotelian* Philosophy, being then *Rector Magnificus*. My reason for telling you this, which otherwise might

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[28] Mandeville, *De Brutorum Operationibus* A6v.

[29] F. B. Kaye, introduction, *The Fable of the Bees*, by Bernard Mandeville 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1924) I: xviii-xix.

[30] Bernardus de Mandeville, *Disputatio Medica Inaugralis de Chylosi Vitiata* (Leiden: Elzevier, 1691).

> seem impertinent, is because I have often thought it very remarkable, that I always had a particular Eye upon, and have been led, as it were, by Instinct to what afterwards to me appear'd to be the Cause of the Hysterick and Hypochondriack Passions, even at a time, when I had no thought of singling out these Distempers for my more particular Study, and was only design'd for general Practice, as other Physicians are.[31]

Mandeville is being disingenuous here as he has already stated earlier in the *Treatise* that his father was experienced in treating patients suffering from these complaints. It is unlikely that the thought of specializing in this field had never occurred to him and further evidence of this can be found in a manuscript which is now housed in the Wellcome Institute Library in London. The manuscript contains lecture notes taken by Michael de Mandeville and Walter de Mandeville, his father and uncle respectively. The full entry for this manuscript in the Wellcome Institute's catalogue reads as follows:

> 3415. **MANDEVILLE** (MICHAEL DE) [fl. 1660]. Notes of Lectures at the Universities of Franeker and Nijmegen on the Institutes of Medicine, and on Cartesian Philosophy: in Latin. Holograph MS. by de Mandeville, written while a medical student.
>
> 9ll. (last bl.). + 88 pp. + I bl. l. + I29 pp. + 29 ll. (last bl.) + 39 ll.
>
> folio. 30.5 x 20 cm. Franeker & Nijegen, I656-I664.
>
> Early I9th cent. vellum binding.
>
> Margins slightly cropped in binding.
>
> Contents: [Anon.]. Philosophiae moralis epitome (9 ll.).
>
> MATTHAEUS (Philippus) [I62I-I700] In alma Frisiorum (quae est

31 Mandeville, *Treatise* 120-21.

Franquera) Universitate observationes in...D. Alberti Kyperi Institutiones medicas (88 pp.).
RADIIS (Johanes de) Dictata ad Epitomen Institutionum medicarum Danielis Sennerti. 1656 (129 pp. + 29 ll.). Pp. 113-125 contain 'D. Johannis Antonidae van der Linden [1609-1664] Doctrina de febribus'.
WITTICH (Christophorus) [1623-1687] In alma Gelriorum (quae est Noviomagi) Universitate, Observationes in Renati Descartes Meditationes de prima philosophia (35 ll.).

Observationes in eiusdem Principiorum philosophiae partem primam [only] (4 ll.).

Inside the cover is the date 1656, and three signatures of de Mandeville, with one in Greek, and another dated 1664. He was a physician of Rotterdam and father of Bernard de Mandeville, author of the celebrated 'Fable of the Bees'. [sic] Below, signature of John Lee [1783-1886], antiquarian and scientist 'J. Lee Doctors Commons No. 390. Recovered Mr Wilson, London'.

The fly-leaves are watermarked 1824.

Purchased 1899. (6640)[32]

The notes deal not only with Cartesian theory but with the medical problems of digestion and it seems likely that they remained a constant source of reference for Mandeville's father as he specialised in illness related to digestion. The presence of the lecture notes in a London library also indicates that Bernard Mandeville brought them to England so that he could use them himself when he set up his own practice.

Given that in 1690 he had just completed a thesis concerning Cartesian theory, he must have been aware of the interest shown in this area by his uncle and his father. Moreover, he would have known his father's work and, in choosing chylification as the subject of his thesis, have already thought of specializing in the

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[32] S. A. J. Moorat, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts on Medicine and Science in the Wellcome Historical Medical Library* 3 vols. (London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1973) 2: 667.

same field. Digestion was, at this time, the subject of intense interest, particularly at Leiden University where advances in anatomy had brought doctors closer to an understanding of the process. In order to understand the context in which Mandeville presented his thesis it is useful to outline the history of digestion theory and its slow evolution.

In the Galenic tradition food was ingested and then transformed by heat into chyle, or the four humours. This heat was innate to the organs of the stomach and the food was cooked in this organic oven. In explaining this process Galen used the metaphor of fermentation, comparing the generation of the humours to the *fermentation of wine.*

Although Galen employs this metaphor it seems doubtful that he ever believed digestion really behaved in such a way. But later Galenists such as Fernelius not only used the metaphor but began to consider digestion as a kind of fermentation - particularly when they had abandoned the concept of innate heat and were casting about for another innate force that could stimulate digestion.

The decisive break with the Galenist concept of digestion came with the work of Paracelsus in the sixteenth century. Paracelsus rejected the Galenic humours and believed that the universe was ordered by a series of energies which he termed 'archaei'. On the question of digestion he considered some animals to have an acid in their stomachs to enable them to digest hard materials but he did not extend this to man. His most important contribution to the theory of digestion, however, lay in his emphasis on the role of chemistry in medicine.

The iatro-chemical theories of Paracelsus were to have a profound effect on Joan Baptiste Van Helmont in the early seventeenth century. As Walter Pagel has shown, Van Helmont rejected Galenism and the medieval schools, turned his back on the practice of medicine and devoted his energies to chemical experiments.[33] The discoveries Van Helmont made and the theories he outlined were always placed within a larger system of religion and cosmology. This system, like much of his chemical work, was deeply influenced by alchemical concepts and a mystical, neo-platonic world-view. Van Helmont, too, involved the 'Archaeus' - an efficient, internal cause at work in every material object, programming its growth and decline.

Although others in this period were beginning to reject the galenic idea of digestion and to discover the role of gastric juices and acids, it was Van Helmont's work which had the greatest impact. His ideas on fermentation and digestion found strong support for almost a century after the posthumous publication of his treatise "Heat doth not digest efficiently, but excitingly onely" [sic] in 1648.[34] The reason for this constant support must lie in part in his striking, metaphorical style of writing. Medically his theories were refined and secularized by the next generation of doctors. His mystical description of fermentation and the links between man and nature, however, proved deeply attractive to a more general reader.

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[33] Walter Pagel, *Joan Baptista Van Helmont: Reformer of Science and Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1982) 129.

[34] J. B. Van Helmont, "Heat doth not digest efficiently, but excitingly onely," *Oriatrike or Physick Refined* (London, 1662) 198-203.

Van Helmont began by attacking the Galenic theory of digestion and innate heat in the stomach. He argued that heat could not be the agent of digestion as animals without heat such as fish could digest. Heat, then, did not *transform* the food digested into another substance, it merely modified the original substance. In digestion it was obvious that food underwent a radical transformation and fire could not achieve this. Van Helmont's observations of the hen's ability to dissolve glass by digestion taught him that an acid must be at work. The acid, however, had to have an active agent in order to deal with a wide variety of foodstuffs. Van Helmont decided that this agent was a ferment and that the acid originated in the spleen.

In the opening paragraphs of "Heat doth not digest efficiently, but excitingly onely" he argues that the Galenists did not discover the role of this acid ferment because they were misled by the use of a metaphor. He says,

> To establish the progeny of the *Archeus*, and vital Spirits, we must hence following speak of digestions: The which, because the Schools have enslaved to heat, I will shew that heat is not the proper instrument of digestions. Indeed, the metaphor of digestion hath deceived the Schools: to wit, it being a Poetical liberty borrowed from a rustical sense... they have made concoction of the same name with digestion.
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> And as they knew seething or boyling to be concoction, therefore they translated digestions to boyling... Therefore a liberty being taken from artificial things, they translated a Kitchin into the amazed transmutations of the bowels and meats: not indeed by way of similitude but altogether properly and immediately, and by thinking, the matter passed over into a belief, and into a true opinion...[35]

Here, he appears to attack the way the metaphor of cookery and kitchens is employed, as well as disparaging the theory of digestion by heat. When, however, he feels he has sufficiently proved the fallacy of that theory he recuperates the metaphor, adapting it to his own ideas on fermentation. Setting out his own theory in "A sixfold digestion of humane nourishment" he remarks that

> the proper Kitchin or Digestion of the stomach is from without to within... there is a twofold Cook in the Stomach; one from the Spleen; and the other being proper to it self sends forth divers digestion.[36]

These metaphors of cookery and fermentation were to prove durable and intensely attractive throughout the coming century. For Van Helmont's immediate successors, however, they held little appeal and caused much debate. The new generation of physicians argued continually about the use of metaphor and analogy in medicine. In the area of digestion the various sides of this debate can be quite clearly seen. At Leiden Sylvius and his followers abandoned the metaphysical style that characterized Van Helmont's works. Instead they focused only on the chemical and physiological aspects of digestion, though still using fermentation as the basic concept in their theories. In England Thomas Willis also attempted to explain digestion by the process of fermentation but, unlike Sylvius, he uses metaphor and analogy extensively.

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35 Van Helmont, *Oriatrike* 198.

36 Van Helmont, *Oriatrike* 215.

Sylvius was a professor of medicine at Leiden University from 1658 to 1672 and a pioneer of the chemical school of medicine. Having rejected most of the concepts of Galenism and the highly charged style of Van Helmont, he focused on chemical explanations of biological phenomena in a secular context, relying on direct observation. His theory of digestion is set out quite clearly in the opening pages of his *Opera Medica*, where he explains that food is transformed into chyle by a process of fermentation.[37] Just as fermentation occurred in wines and beers, it occurred in the stomach. The fermenting agent is in the saliva, which accompanies the food to the stomach and there stimulates chylification. After the chyle is created a second process must take place in which the acid pancreatic juice and the alkaline bile combine to purify it in the intestine. The refined chyle is then filtered through the intestine and lacteal vessels, eventually passing into the blood where it further refined by the innate heat of the heart.

In England Thomas Willis adopted this theory but, significantly, he garnished it with a series of metaphors. In his famous treatise "Of Fermentation" he sets out clearly a theory of digestion which had fermentation as its basis.[38] Rejecting the mystical metaphors that permeated Van Helmont's writings, he adopts a style that is highly metaphorical but entirely secular. He relies particularly on the wine vat metaphor which Galen and the ancients had also used, and the equally traditional image of leavening bread. Describing the chyle he says

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[37] Sylvius, *Opera Medica* (Amsterdam, 1680) 11.

[38] Thomas Willis, "Of Fermentation," *Thomas Willis' Practice of Physick* (London, 1684).

> It is commonly received, that the Concoction of the Chyle, in the Ventricle, is made by means of a certain Acid Ferment...Some say this Ferment is breathed into the Stomach from the Spleen, but by what means that may be done doth not yet appear by Anatomical Observation. It seems not improbable that this Ferment is implanted in the Ventricle, that it is only made by some remains of the perfected Chyle, which fixed in the folds of the Ventricle and there growing sowr, puts on the Nature of Ferment; even as a portion of Dough being fermented or levened, and kept to a sowrness, becomes a convenient Ferment of Leven, for the making of Bread.[39]

In this passage he manages to incorporate the metaphors of concoction, inspiration, *fermentation and leavening into what is* basically the Sylvius theory of digestion. He then goes on to describe the movement of the animal spirits in the brain, claiming that their action is similar to that of chyle in the ventricle. To illustrate this movement he describes the brain as an alembic refining the spirits and he continues by describing the spleen as 'the sink or jakes' of the body. This series of metaphors became one of the classic statements of the chemical theory of digestion in the seventeenth century and, because of its metaphors, it was also central in the debate on analogy in scientific language which took place at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[40]

Another important contribution to the debate on digestion was made by Giovanni Borelli. His theory stated the beliefs of the Cartesian mechanical school of medicine and, viewing the body as

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[39] Willis, *Practice of Physick* 14.

[40] Peter H. Niebyl, "Science and Metaphor in the medicine of Restoration England," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 47 (1973): 356-74.

a machine, it avoids any metaphysical dimension. Basically Borelli claimed that food was digested by the constant churning action of the muscles in the stomach. The grinding, or trituration as it was called, softened the food and broke it up so that it could be easily absorbed into the bloodstream. Borelli's ideas gained favour increasingly in the early eighteenth century as the mechanical school came to dominate medicine with the support of such doctors as Boerhaave and Archibald Pitcairne.[41]

A series of medical discoveries had led Sylvius to focus on the use of saliva and pancreatic juice in digestion. But two more discoveries by Brunner and Peyer moved attention back to the stomach shortly afterwards. These two discoveries are also important as they represent the last medical advance in the theory of digestion until René de Réaumur's experiments on the gastric digestion of birds in 1752.[42] In the intervening sixty-five years the problem of digestion was debated vigourously throughout Europe. Variations on the ideas of Van Helmont, Sylvius, Willis and Borelli sprang up constantly creating small pamphlet wars and provoking a stream of treatises.

Pitcairne's defence of the trituration theory provides a good example of the debates on digestion that were constantly sparked off in this period. In the preface to a 1740 translation of Pitcairne's works, George Sewell sets out the various stages of the war of tracts stimulated by Pitcairne's *Dissertation* on digestion. Sewell writes,

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[41] J. H. Baron, "The Discovery of Gastric Acid," *Gastroenterology* 76 (1979): 1056-1064.

[42] Baron, 1059.

> The Matter in short is this: Our Author in that Dissertation *attributes the* Digestion *of the* Aliment *chiefly to the* Action *and* Motions *of the* Stomach *and other neighbouring Muscles.* Doctor HECQUET, a Physician at *Paris*, in a small Tract, lately espoused and maintained the same Notion; and Doctor ASTRUC of *Montpellier* wrote a little Piece upon this Subject, principally against Doctor HECQUET, contending, *That the* Digestion *was made not chiefly by* Attrition, *but by* proper Juices *dissolving the* Meat *by way of* Ferment. And Doctor BOWER's *Epistle* was intended for an Answer to Doctor ASTRUC, before it was known that Doctor HECQUET had made a proper Defence for himself.[43] (n.n.)

This narrative describes only the bare outlines of the quarrel. Pitcairne's *Dissertation* itself had been an attack on John Bohn and George Wolfgang Wedelius who espoused the ferment theory.[44] Sewell also ignores the vitriolic defences of Pitcairne by his fellow-countryman George Cheyne in 1702. Nor does he mention that Jean Astruc reprinted his treatise in 1714 and disparaged Leewenhoeck, Pitcairne, and Hecquet. Pitcairne, seeking the final word added a new attack on Astruc to his preface in the 1740 translation of his works, saying

> For my Part, I will not call ASTRUCIUS'S Book *Cacata Charta*, since ASTRUCIUS, in my opinion, seems never to have gone to Stool, otherwise he must have perceived that the Muscles of the Abdomen have a Power of *Contraction* and *Expulsion.*[45]

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[43] George Sewell, introduction, *The Whole Works of Dr. Archibald Pitcairn*, by Alexander Pitcairne, trans. George Sewell and J. T. Desaguliers (London, 1740) n. n.

[44] Archibald Pitcairne, *Dissertationes Medicae...Subjuncta est Thomas Boeri M. D. ad Archibaldum Pitcairnium epistola, qua respondetur Libello Astrucii Franci* (Edinburgh, 1713).

The bitterness in this series of exchanges was typical for the time and the infectiousness of the quarrel indicates the lack of certainty which still surrounded any description of the digestion process. It was this uncertainty which stimulated the extensive use of the digestion metaphor in the early eighteenth century, particularly as much of the digestion debate focused on the medical metaphors linked to the various theories.

Mandeville, in 1691, concentrates his attention on the physiological aspects of the debate. By 1711, however, he weaves his thesis into the much larger work of the *Treatise* where he dissects the metaphors used in the digestion debate and questions the nature of medical rhetoric. Some indication that he is interested in the rhetorical influences on the process of digestion do appear at the beginning of the thesis, though, when he examines the etymologies of terms he will use:

> Defective chylification, however, is divided into three areas by practitioners and they are as follows: βραδυπεψία , or 'slowness of digestion', 'diminished' perhaps; ἀπεψία , or 'complete lack of digestive power'; and δυσπεψία , or 'difficulty of digestion'. As for the etymology of these terms, they are derived from the Greek word πέπτω - 'coquo' in Latin, and affixed to the first of them is βραδύς , or 'slow'. Affixed to the second is 'α' privative, and to the third the particle δυς which in compounds means 'badly', 'with effort' or 'with difficulty'. These three defects of stomach digestion are all known by the one name - indigestion.[46]

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[45] Pitcairne, *Whole Works* iv.

[46] Mandeville, *de Chylosi Vitiata* A2r-A2v.

Having defined his terms, he continues by briefly describing the normal process of digestion.

> However, before we come to the explanation of those diseased states of chylosis, I think it would not be irrelevant to examine its natural state first. Food having been consumed, chewed by the teeth, mixed with saliva flooding from glands into the mouth and swallowed down by the muscles of the aesophagus, is carried into the stomach. There it is transformed into a porridge-like fluid which is called chyle, and consequently the whole process is called chylification and, in accordance with the actual process, is named 'digestion' by the ancients, 'fermentation' by the moderns.[47]

This description of digestion takes the iatro-mechanical theory of muscles into account but the emphasis on chyle and fermentation place Mandeville firmly in the iatro-chemical school of thought. Having stressed this chemical foundation for his thesis he goes on to dismiss the galenic theory of digestion as a 'coction', or a process dependent on the heat of the stomach:

> According to their own statements, the ancients believed a certain heat, innate to the stomach, to be the primary cause of this chylification. But, because we see fish digesting food without heat, dogs consuming bones and chickens consuming gravel we have to conclude that heat is an insufficient explanation for this action. Who, I ask you, can employ a process which consists solely of a motion and only ever differs in degree, to explain the diversity of the digestive process in virtually every species of animal, even those nourished by the same food? Everyone acknowledges that turtle-doves

[47] Mandeville, *de Chylosi Vitiata* A2v.

> effortlessly digest hellebore and dogs consume glass of antimony without any vomiting. From this it is manifestly clear that the cause of digestion is one thing in a man and another in a dog, even if they are nourished by the same food.[48]

In this passage Mandeville is following Van Helmont's refutation of the theory of heat, even repeating similar examples of digestion in dogs and birds. Again, in line with the school of Van Helmont and Sylvius, he declares his belief in the theory of fermentation in terms similar to their own:

> all that remains to us is to support the principle of fermentation and say that there is in the stomach a certain juice which stirs up food like baker's yeast and transforms it by the means of that fermentation. This juice is naturally constituted at a volatile temperature as acid and consists partly of chyle remaining here and there in the folds of the stomach, and partly of animal spirits brought down there from the brain through vessels opening into the stomach...that juice falls on the contents in the stomach which have been already reduced to a certain extent before this and washed by saliva. It penetrates, dissolves and stimulates them to fermentation by means of its acid volatility...Now when this fermentation is proceeding by natural means, good chylification follows; so, on the other hand, if it is damaged in any way, the generation of chyle is also impaired and as the former is called good digestion, so the latter is called indigestion.[49]

The metaphor of baker's yeast suggests that Mandeville may also have been reading Thomas Willis' "Of Fermentation" as he uses the image in precisely the same way as Willis who wrote:

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[48] Mandeville, *de Chylosi Vitiata* A2v.

[49] Mandeville, *de Chylosi Vitiata* A3r.

> It seems not improbable that this Ferment is implanted in the Ventricle, that it is only made by some remains of the perfected Chyle, which fixed in the folds of the Ventricle and there growing sowr, puts on the Nature of Ferment; even as a portion of Dough being fermented or levened, and kept to a sowrness, becomes a convenient Ferment of Leven, for the making of Bread.[50]

Mandeville's imitation of Willis' medical discourse in this passage is of interest, not merely because it reveals the sources he used in composing his theory of digestion. In the *Treatise*, published twenty years later, he quotes an extensive passage from Willis' work and then dissects the metaphors used in the passage. By doing this he initiates a discussion on the nature of medical discourse and presents his own theories of digestion, hypochondria and hysteria in a much more complex context than that of his thesis.[51]

In 1691, however, he remains firmly focused on physiology and having defined fermentation and the normal process of chylification he then develops an argument to explain deficient, or 'depraved' chylification. His basic reason for the failure of normal chylification is that the process of fermentation has not been successfully completed:

> The stomach ferment is depraved firstly when it is not sufficiently volatile, but consists entirely of acid that is too stodgy or which has a strange sourness in a tainted stomach. Indeed, if we look again at hypochondriacs, food, once consumed, is in fact readily fallen on by the ferment and dissolved; however, because

[50] Willis, *Practice of Physick* 14.

[51] Mandeville, *Treatise* 82-86.

> the ferment is so deprived of volatile salt it doesn't provide what the fermentation needs for food or what is necessary for good chyle; but, on the contrary, not only does it fail to rectify the less suitable foods; but, with its excessively stodgy sourness it even transforms those which are abundantly provided with volatile salts into an excessively acid mass, from which arises in particular that indigestion which is called acid.[52]

Mandeville's comments here on the role of digestion in hypochondria remain central to his theories in the *Treatise*, though again they are elaborated by more detailed description and are placed in a broader psychological setting.

Other faults in chylification are also enumerated in the thesis as follows:

> I proceed now to the other fault of chylification, namely the one arising from consumed foods. 1* Foods create problems when they are ingested in too great an abundance and are unable to be easily digested.
>
> 2* Too much drink dissolves the ferment, it renders it sluggish by diluting it and accordingly makes foods float about in the stomach and thus they are impeded in their due fermentation. Another result of this (something which cannot be omitted) is that the fibres of the stomach are rendered so relaxed and flaccid that food, although digested, can not be easily expelled through the pylorus, as a result of which, food retained for too long in the stomach is tainted and brings about many ills.
>
> 3* Variety of food troubles digestion.[53]

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[52] Mandeville, *de Chylosi Vitiata* A3v.

[53] Mandeville, *de Chylosi Vitiata* A4r-A4v.

Finally, Mandeville devotes the closing section of his thesis to the question of treatments for deficient chylification. He recommends a variety of vomiting emetics, laxatives and a poultice, stating that

> In treatment, therefore, the aim should be firstly to remove all those impurities of the stomach, the mucus and the juices remaining in the stomach which are acid and thick because of their long inactivity. Secondly, as far as it is possible, to adjust the ferment and reśtore it to its natural state. Basically vomiting emetics are more suitable than anything else, and among these antimonials are preferable; for instance, emetic wines with glass of antimony, tartar emetic and quicksilver. Liquids, though, are to be preferred above everything else because powders, as they often inhere in the folds of the stomach, produce convulsive vomiting. As an example this formula can be prescribed.
>
> ℞. Crocus of Antimony.
> or
> Glass of antimony viii gr. or x. It is not of any importance
> provided the quantity is carefully attended to.
> Add Spanish wine ℥ iiβ , for stronger patients ℥ iii.
>
> Let them stand overnight in a warm place. In the morning they should be strained through a filter-paper and thus given as a warm draught to the patient. He should drink after the hour or when he feels nauśeous warm beer mixed with butter. To which one may often add tickling - goose feathers pushed down the throat - in order to induce vomiting more easily. And, as with the antimonials, the same method can be used for the mercurials.[54]

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[54] Mandeville, *de Chylosi Vitiata* A5r-A5v.

The most interesting aspect of his recommended treatments is his advice to use subacids to cure 'foetid indigestion'. Mandeville suggests that the juice of pomegranates, oranges and citrons could counteract the fats which caused the complaint. This seems to indicate that he supported the belief in the existence of gastric acid. Although the existence of this acid could not be definitively proven a considerable amount of evidence had been compiled by various doctors working on the subject at Leiden University. Much of this work had been achieved through dissection and the anatomy classes of the university, which were the most advanced in Europe at this time. The influence of the Leiden anatomy theatre itself and the nature of anatomy at this time must be considered as important influences not just on Mandeville's thesis but on his later work too.

Leiden University led Europe in the teaching of medicine and was almost unique in that it taught anatomy with the aid of regular demonstrations of dissection. The anatomy theatre in which these dissections took place was itself well-known for its spectacular collection of visual effects, designed to comment on the process of anatomy.[55] It is here that Mandeville must have perceived the possibility of combining emblems and anatomy in a literary text.

The theatre was built under the guidance of Pieter Pauw, a professor of anatomy at Leiden University and a nephew of Hendrik Laurenz Spiegel, the author of the emblem-book, *Hertspieghel*.[56]

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[55] Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Un amphithéâtre d'anatomie moralisée," *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975): 217-278.

[56] H. L. Spieghel, *Hertspieghel* (Amsterdam, 1694)

When it was completed in 1593 Pauw began to furnish the theatre with various artifacts related to anatomy. Interested in osteology, he assembled a large collection of skeletons, both animal and human, which he arranged among the benches of the theatre. The skeletons were positioned in active, life-like poses; they were occasionally painted and many held small flags bearing Latin mottos such as 'Nosce Te Ipsum' [Know yourself] and 'Mors Ultima Linea Rerum' [Death is the final threshold of all things]. In the centre, before the dissecting table, two skeletons portrayed Adam and Eve beside the Tree of Knowledge (See figures 1 and 2). In an article on the theatre, Lunsingh Scheurleer points out how Pauw's use of the skeleton within the vanitas tradition is reminiscent of the anatomy illustrations in Book II of Vesalius' *Fabrica*.[57] In the illustrations for the *Fabrica*, and in the frontispiece for Pauw's own book, *Primitiae Anatomice*, the use of skeletons reminds the reader of the fragility of life, though they also highlight a tension between their moral message and the violence inherent in the dissection of a human body (See figures 3 and 4).[58]

When Pauw died in 1617 the anatomy classes were taken over by Ottho Van Heurne who immediately began to expand the collection. Through friends and other collectors he quickly acquired an Egyptian mummy, a sarcophagus, a Roman urn, and a wide variety of other archeological and ethnographical items. At the same time he began to form a library of anatomy books and a collection of engravings related to anatomy on a moral or social level. He still,

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[57] Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Un amphithéâtre d'anatomie moralisée" 221.

[58] Andreas Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem* (Basel, 1543) and Peter Pauw, *Primitiae Anatomicae de Humani Corporis Ossibus* (Leiden, 1615).

for instance, stressed the vanitas theme with an engraving by Jacques de Gheyn which is reminiscent of an earlier purchase by Pauw (See figure 5). Now, however, he also added anatomical engravings by Lucas Kilian and the small accompanying book *Pinax Microcosmographicus* (See figures 6 and 7).[59] These engravings present an odd mixture of anatomical drawings and emblematical motifs, which make it impossible to dissociate the study of the body from the study of morals. This combination of anatomy and ethics is further reinforced by the the book, *Pinax Microcosmographicus*, which reveals an obscure and complex allegorical structure in the illustrations which makes explicit the moral dimension of each image.

Many of the other engravings acquired by Van Heurne, however, had a more mundane connection with the practice of anatomy. Several engravings depicted members of the House of Orange and commemorated battles which ensured the freedom of the Republic of Holland. These pictures laid the foundations for further engravings on broader historical and mythic themes which emphasized more general virtues of use to any student. Occasionally, though, Van Heurne found engravings which could illustrate both history or myth and anatomy. In four engravings by Goltzius after Cornelis, for instance, the illustrations combine accurate representations of male anatomy with emblematic depictions of myths (See figure 8).

The Calvinist atmosphere of the university was reflected in the many biblical allegories included in Van Heurne's collection. These

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[59] Lucas Kilian, *Pinax Microcosmographicus* (Ulm, 1615).

ranged from scenes depicting the four ages in the Decline of Man, to illustrations of St Jerome or the reconciliation of Jacob and Esau. Some of the stranger engravings represented odd occurrences of anatomical or medical interest in the area. One illustration, for example, was of two herrings caught near Dronthem which, it was claimed, had strange signs and pictures etched on their sides.

Other works depicted moral or emblematic scenes specifically for the benefit of young medical students. An engraving by Hieronymous Cock after Pieter Breughel's *Alchemist* warned against the dangers of such useless arts while four more illustrations by De Gheyn depict the four humours, still a force in early seventeenth-century medicine (See figure 9). Finally, another four engravings, probably by Goltzius, set out the relationship between doctor and patient in allegories depicting the doctor as God, Angel, Devil and Man (See figure 10).

This emblematic approach to anatomy was not confined to Leiden University. Frederik Ruysch, praelector in Anatomy in Amsterdam, assembled a large series of emblematic landscapes in jars, using the anatomized skeletons of children as his artistic material. A. M. Luyendijk-Elshout describes these tableau as follows:

> Twenty-five skeletons of babies and fetuses were arranged in one case in an allegorical manner intended to illustrate the transience of life. The little skulls were filled with cotton, the hands either held or pointed to a specimen placed above an edifying proverb. Attached to the delicate phalanges, or hanging from them, were mayflies, strings of pearls, small candles, a wreath of flowers, or star-shaped melon seeds, all symbolizing the brevity of life, which was also the subject of the text.

> These Latin proverbs, which were also to be found in the anatomical theaters of the 17th-century Dutch universities and which Ruysch unquestionably knew from Leiden, included *Vita humana lusus* (Man's life is but a game); *Vita quid est? Fumus fugiens et bulla caduca* (What is life? A transient smoke and a fragile bubble); and *Volat irrevocabile tempus* (Time flies and cannot be recalled). A fetal skeleton, pointing to an embalmed four-month womb, sighs, "No nobler grave could have held it." There were also embalmed babies lying in tiny coffins, dressed in lace garments, and adorned with flowers and beads. Some had their eyes closed, but others gazed at the visitor with glass eyes artfully inserted by Ruysch.[60]

Later groups of figures included birds perched on vascular trees, a skeleton playing a violin made from an osteomyelitic sequester and 'behind a handsome vase made of the inflated tunica albuginea of the testis...an elegant little skeleton with a feather on its skull and a stone coughed up from the lungs hanging from its hand' (See figure 11).

These surreal anatomical landscapes raised questions concerning the role of representation in medicine and medical discourse. Similarly, the Leiden anatomy theatre pointed to the rhetorical nature of both medical theory and medical practice. From the publication of Mondino de Luzzi's *Anathomia corporis humani* in 1316 public dissections involved the reading of an anatomy text by a lector while a surgeon performed the dissection.[61] By the sixteenth century Vesalius had combined the performance of the

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[60] A. M. Luyendijk-Elshout, "Death Enlightened: A Study of Frederik Ruysch," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 212 (1970): 123-24.

[61] Luke Wilson, "William Harvey's *Prelectiones*: The Performance of the Body in the Renaissance Theater of Anatomy," *Representations* 17 (1987): 62-95.

dissection with the task of explaining the process. The anatomist had, in effect, become a public performer. This role was confirmed by the design of anatomy theatres in Padua and Bologna which imitated theatres used for the staging of plays. At times these theatres were used for both purposes and, in Bologna, the annual public dissection was held at carnival time when maskers were allowed to attend.[62] In Holland one of the earliest locations for the Amsterdam anatomy theatre was housed in St. Margaret's Church, directly opposite the 'Princenhof' which was also known as the 'New or Little Meat Hall'. In *Rembrandt's 'Anatomy of Dr. Nicholas Tulp'* William Heckscher quotes a poem taken from an engraving of the church which reads

> *Title*: The two Meat Halls. The two meat halls which you see here are well equipped with beautiful "meat", beautiful inside and out, and so much of it that one hardly knows where it all goes. Come on, little ladies, if you feel like investing your money; buy as much as your heart desires - from this kind of "flesh" your spouses won't grow horns...Do you desire to know what people there are upstairs? Those are the surgeons who make flesh wounds and who are trained in the noble art. At the same time this is the peaceful meeting place of Rhetoricians. While some will bare the wounds of man's body, the others try to cure man's soul.[63]

This conjunction of the Rhetoricians' hall with the anatomy theatre and the church reveals the complexity of the associations which attaching themselves to the performance of an anatomy in Holland.

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[62] Giovanna Ferrari, "Public Anatomy Lessons and the Carnival: The Anatomy Theatre of Bologna," *Past & Present* 117 (1987): 50-106.

[63] William S. Heckscher, *Rembrandt's* Anatomy of Dr. Nicolaas Tulp: *An Iconographical Study* (New York: New York UP, 1958) 31.

In Amsterdam, as in Leiden, the dissection was performed in a theatre built within a Protestant church and the surgery took place on what was once an alter in both anatomy theatres. The regenerative power of the word was given a new dimension as it was used to reconstitute the dissected body as a body of knowledge which would then be used for healing. As the corpses for anatomy were often criminals, particularly for public dissections, this transformative process became even more pointed. The performance of the anatomy was also followed by a musical performance and, in Holland, by a banquet. The ceremony and atmosphere of a festival placed medical practice in the realm of stagecraft, with the anatomy as 'Vertooning' or tableau scene.[64]

This approach to medicine permeates every aspect of Mandeville's work and may have influenced his decision to use the dialogue form in his *Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions*. Certainly the emphasis on observation and his exploration of the role of representation in medical discourse in the *Treatise* was inspired by the teaching methods of the medical faculty in Leiden. Goodall's account of his visit to that faculty reveals the emphasis placed on empirical teaching:

> When persons have studied some years Philosophy and other Arts for their better accomplishment, they have liberty allowed them of admitting themselves Pupils to any of the Professors in physick of that University, whose office or employment is to read Lectures dayly to their Disciples; and those who are admitted under the practick Professors, do frequently accompany or meet

[64] Heckscher, 33.

> them at their Hospitals, where are usually a great variety of Patients lying sick of several diseases; the Professor as soon as he comes, feels the Patients pulse, enquires into the Symptoms of their distempers, particular temperaments, methods of living, &c. and then fully acquaints his Disciples with all their complaints and the circumstances of their Cases: then questions them severally what their Opinions are as to the nature of their Sickness? what Causes they would assign procatarctick or conjunct occasioning them? what prognosticks they would make? and what methods of Cure they would propose? And thus, when they have variously given their judgment; he commends one, reproves another, and encourageth all to diligent pains and study in their profession; then candidly delivers his own judgment and prognostick, and directs such remedies as may be most serviceable to the Patients ease and recovery.
>
> These Medicines are pen'd by his Disciples, who meet next day together at the Hospital, discourse the Patients and enquire of the success of their Professors prescriptions; and then wait his attendance to hear his farther opinion.
>
> And thus are the sick people continually treated until a perfect Crisis attends them; which when it proves mortal, the diseased body is dissected, and a Lecture read thereupon for the fuller information of the fore-mention'd Students...[65]

The influence of this method of teaching is visible in the *Treatise* where Mandeville repeatedly advocates the need for student doctors to observe patients and to gain practical bedside experience.

Whether he himself gained much practical experience in Holland remains unknown. He did, however, leave for England shortly afterwards under mysterious circumstances. Research by Estelle

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[65] Charles Goodall, *The Royal College of Physicians of London* (London, 1684): 57-59.

Cohen into this period of Mandeville's life suggests that both he and his father were involved in the 'Uproer' in Rotterdam in 1690. During riots caused by the clumsy execution of a vintner accused of murder, a mob destroyed the bailiff's house with cannon fire. The incident was investigated by William III who held two inquiries into these events. The second inquiry in 1692 found that Michael de Mandeville incited the mob to riot and that his son, Bernard, had posted up bills accusing the bailiff of complicity in the unjust death of the vintner. The Mandevilles were given seventy two hours to leave Rotterdam and they then moved to Amsterdam where Michael de Mandeville established a medical practice. Bernard Mandeville left for England at that point and presumably found himself among the fledgling Dutch community which began to grow under William III's monarchy.[66]

Mandeville's life during his early years in England remains mostly speculation. It is reasonable to assume, however, that he began to establish a medical practice for himself. By 1699 he had been warned by the College of Physicians that he was practicing illegally, as were many 'foreign' doctors who had not obtained their degrees from Oxford or Cambridge.[67] In the same year he also contributed a small Latin poem in praise of cantharides to Greenfield's treatise on the subject which suggests he had become

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[66] I am indebted to Estelle Cohen for this information summarised from her extensive research on the Mandeville family in Holland.

[67] George N. Clark, *A History of the Royal College of Physicians of London* 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964); Harold J. Cook, *The Decline of the Old Medical Regime in Stuart London* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1986) and "The Society of Chemical Physicians, The New Philosophy, and the Restoration Court," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 61 (1987): 61-77.

established among a circle of medical writers.[68] Further evidence for this appears in 1705 when he published a translation of the work of Riverius which was advertised at the beginning of *Etmullerus Abridg'd* as follows:

> *Riverius Reformatus*, or the Modern *Riverius*: Containing the Modern Practice of Physick; set down in a method very near the same with that of *Riverius*; but accomodated to the most receiv'd Principles among the Modern Philosophers, as well as Physicians; with Practical Observations annex'd to each Head or Chapter. To which are added a Treatise of the Venereal Disease, and the Secrets of the famous *Lazarus Riverius*: Never before. Translation from the Third Edition, in *Latin.* By Dr. *Mandeville.* Price 6*s.*[69]

This is one of a series of translations of important medical works published by Richard Wellington in the first two decades of the eighteenth century. The translations were mainly done by 'foreign' physicians, perhaps to supplement an income limited by the harrassments of the College of Physicians or because they were eager to reform medical teaching in England. Mandeville's translation of Riverius considerably reconstitutes the text and places the emphasis on digestion by making it the first subject of the book. In Chapter II, "Of a distemper'd Concoction", he reveals another source for his thesis on chylification when the chapter begins

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[68] John Greenfield, *In Authorem de usu Interno Cantharidum Scribentem. Prefixed to Tutus Cantharidum in Medicina Usus Internus by John Greenfield, M. D.* (London, 1703).

[69] Michael Ettmüller, *Etmullerus Abridg'd: or, A Compleat System of the theory and Practice of Physic* (London, 1699) n.n.; Riverius, *Riverius Reformatus*, or the Modern *Riverius* (London, 1705).

> The Causes of a distemper'd Concoction are altogether the same with those of Inappetency, and loathing of Victuals; for, like them, it may be vitiated three several ways; and is either diminish'd, quite taken away, or deprav'd; the first the *Grecians* call'd *Bradypepsia*, the second *Apepsia*, and the last *Dyspepsia*; which three Differences are comprehended in one word Crudity; and of this are two Species, *Acid* and *Nidorous*; to which a third might be added, that is neither.[70]

This passage may well be the source for Mandeville's etymological explanations at the beginning of his thesis. Possibly it was this admiration for the work of Riverius which stimulated him to translate his work into English. The translation has the added effect of preparing an English audience for his own ideas on digestion in *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions* and as will be seen it gave him an opportunity to explore the issue of authority in medical discourse.

By 1705, of course, Mandeville had already published his translations of a selection of LaFontaine's fables and his literary career was under way. He was also to publish *The Grumbling Hive* in 1705 and this was to prove the beginning of a life-long work.[71]

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[70] Riverius, *Riverius Reformatus: or the Modern Riverius* (London, 1713) 9.

[71] Bernard Mandeville, *The Grumbling Hive* (London, 1705).

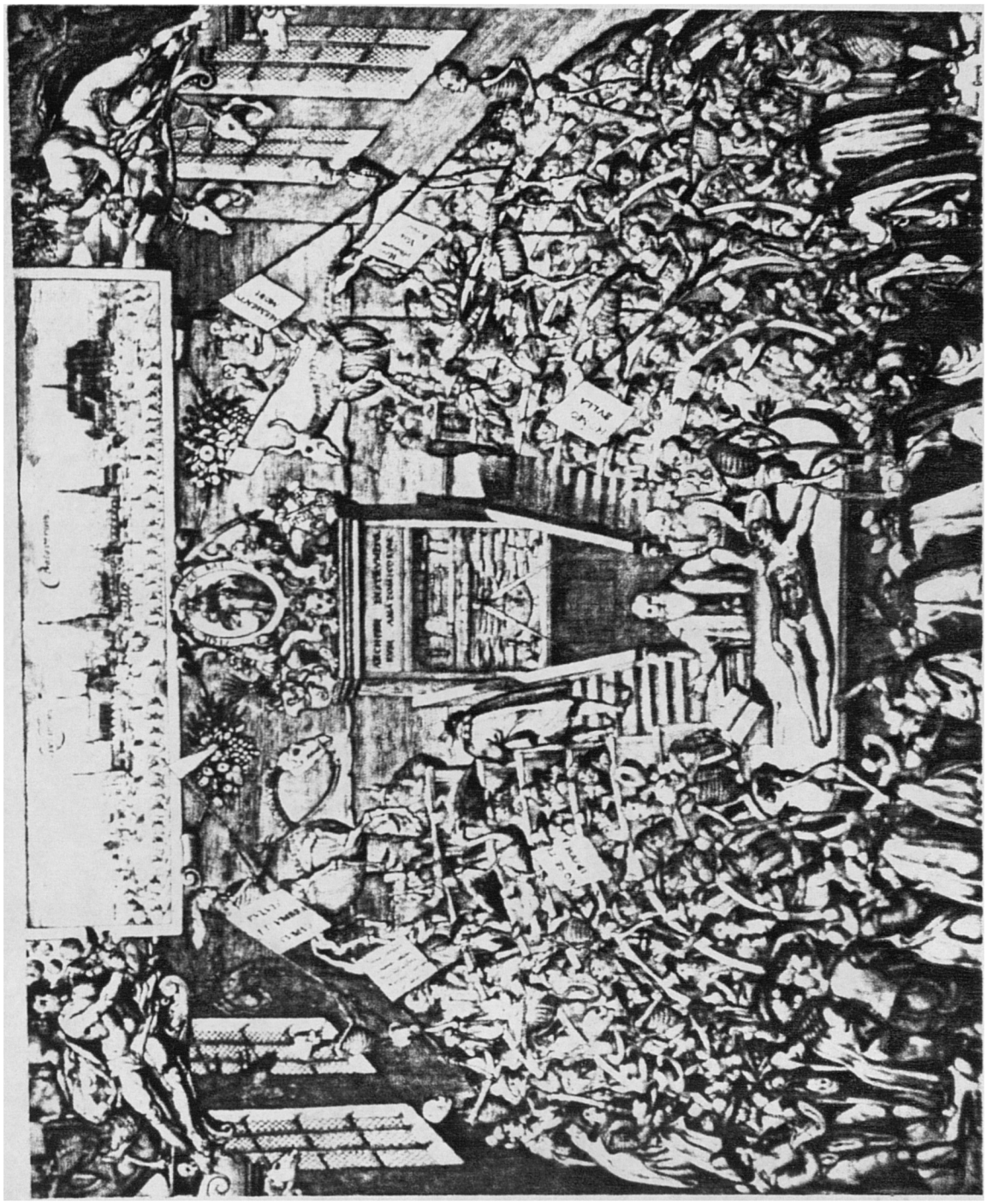

Figure 1. Leiden anatomy theatre, 1709.

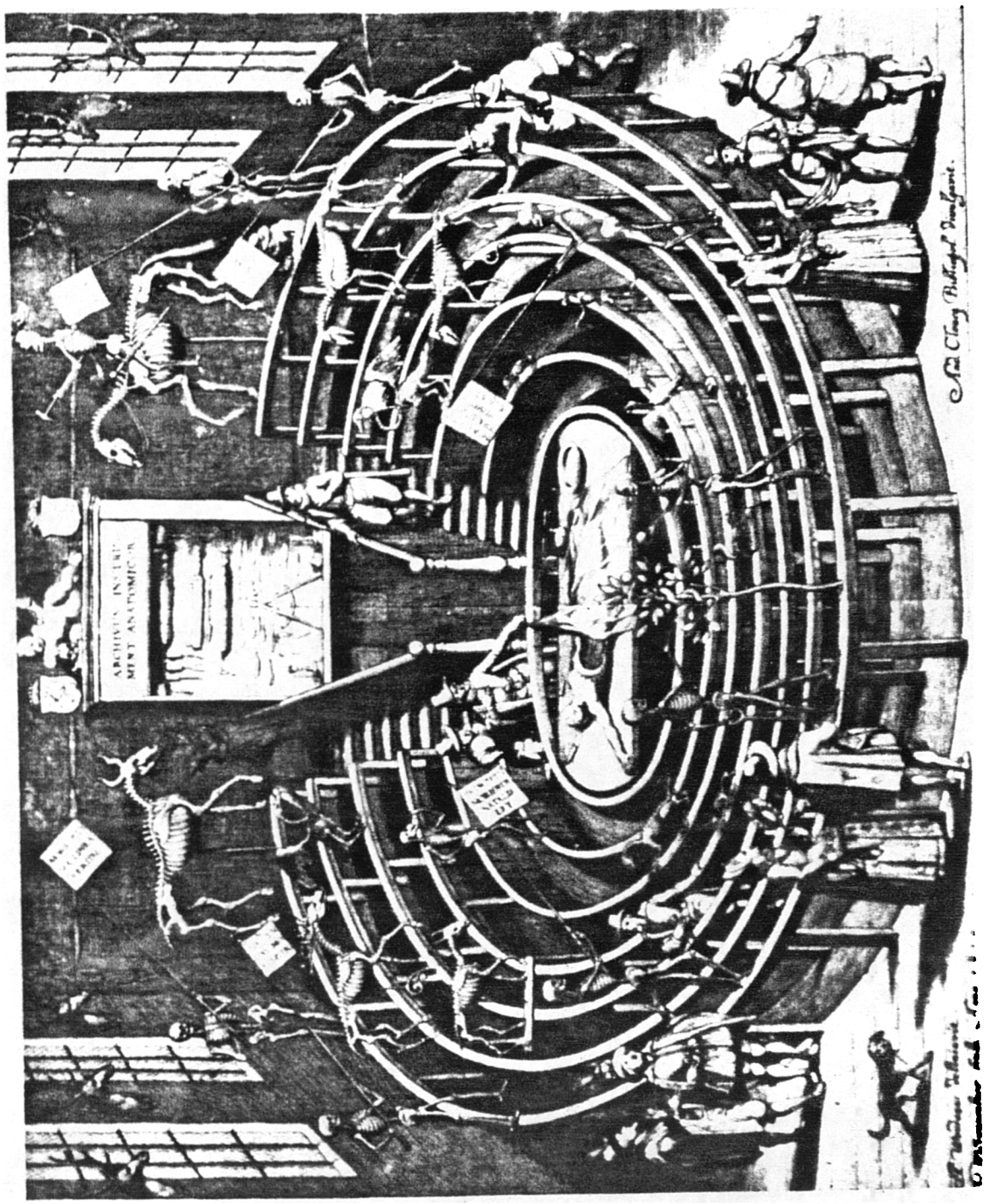

Figure 2. Leiden anatomy theatre, 1710.

Figure 3. Vesalian 'Muscleman', from Andreas Vesalius, *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem* (Basel, 1543).

Ca. 2, 22. (1.)

PETRI PAAW

AMSTELDAMENSIS,

In Academia Lugduno-Batava Anatomici
& Botanici Professoris,

Primitiæ Anatomicæ.

DE

Humani Corporis

OSSIBVS.

LVGDVNI BATAVORVM.
Ex Officina IVSTI à COLSTER.
ANN. ↀIↃ IↃ CXV.

Figure 4. Title-page from Peter Pauw, *Primitiae Anatomicae de Humani Corporis Ossibus* (Leiden, 1615).

Figure 5. Allegory on vanity by Jacques de Gheyn (1565-1629).

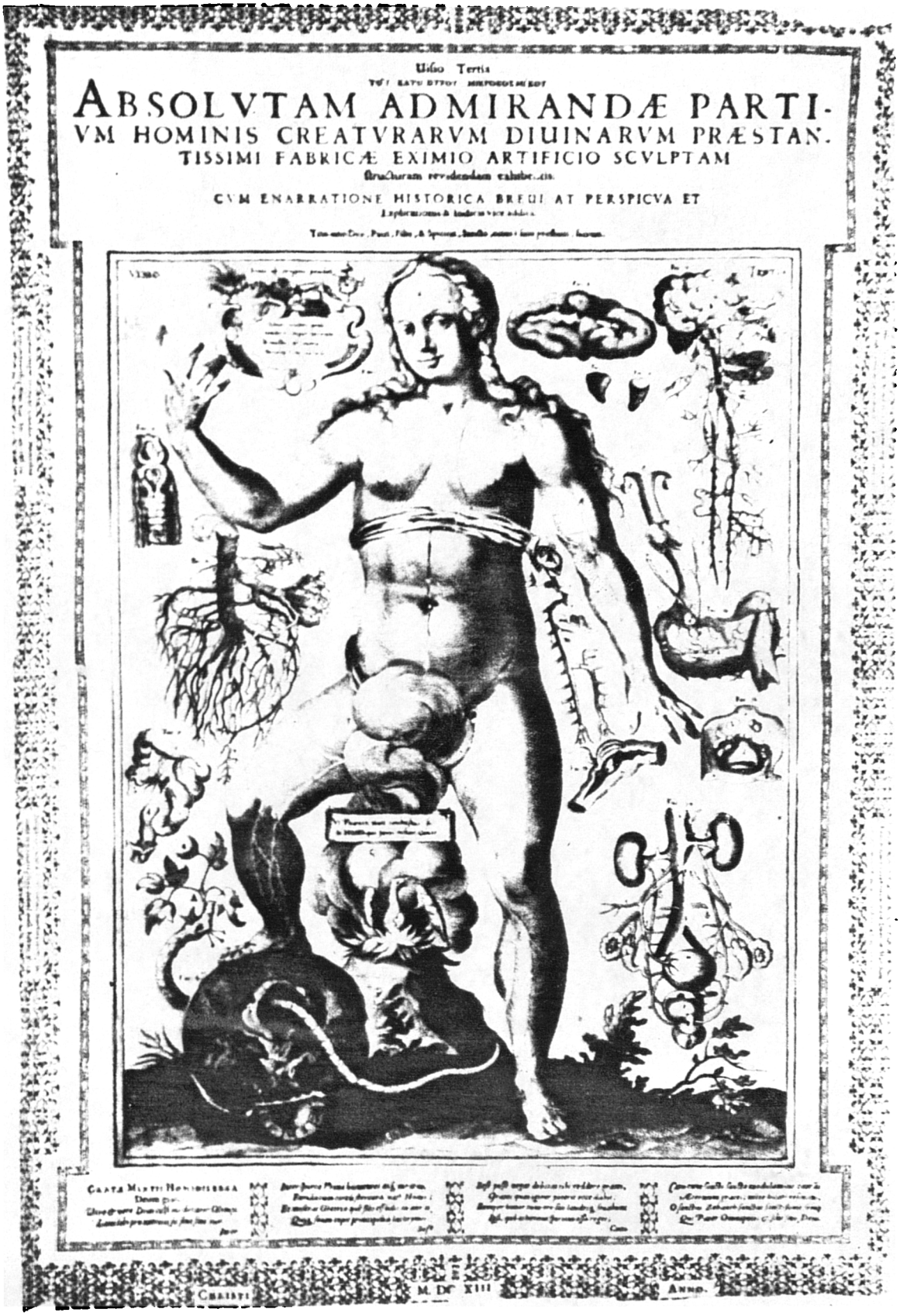

Figure 6. Lucas Kilian, *Pinax Microcosmographicus* (Ulm, 1615).

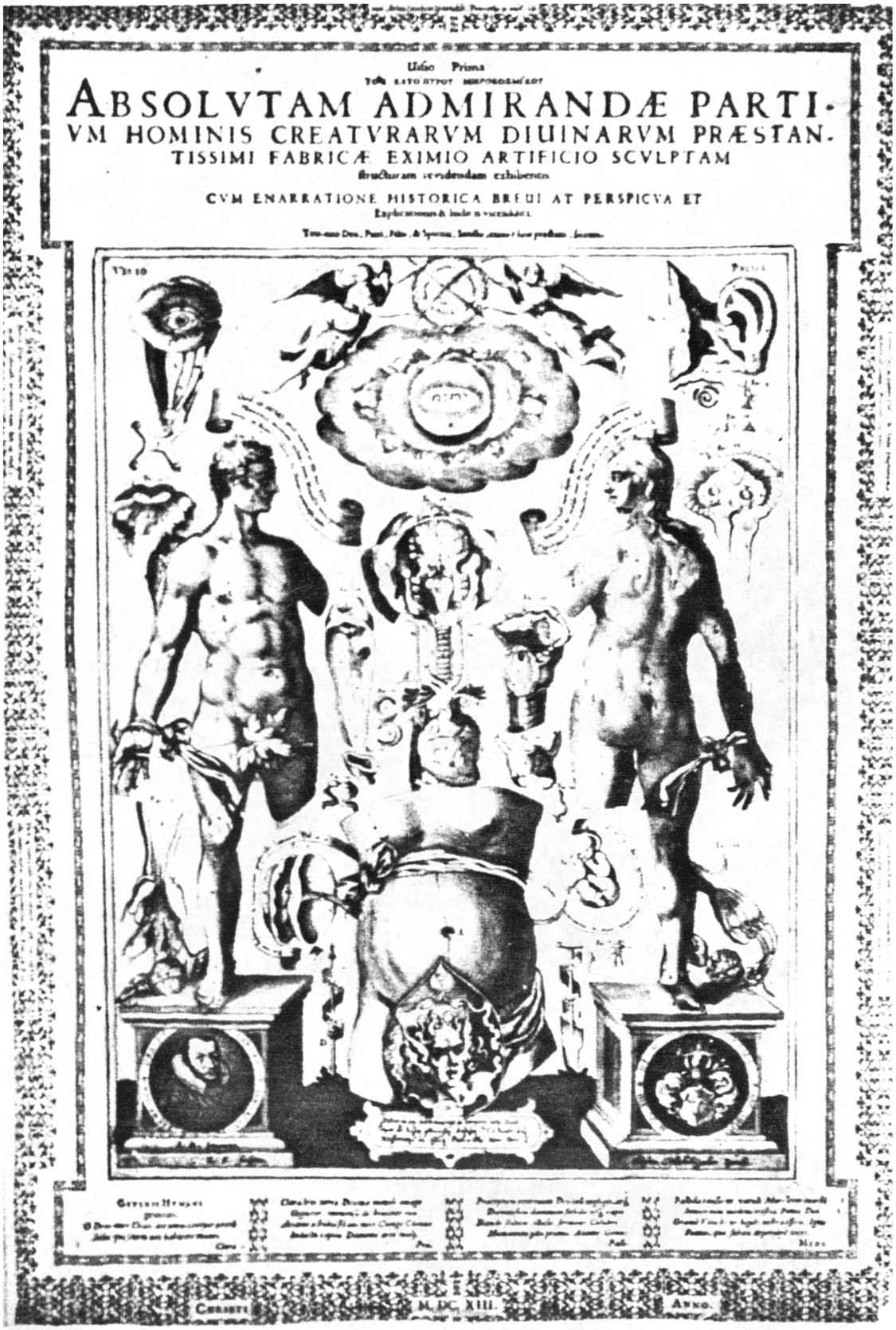

Figure 7. Lucas Kilian, *Pinax Microcosmographicus* (Ulm, 1615).

Figure 8. *Icarus*. H. Goltzius, after Cornelis Cornelisz.

Figure 9. *The Four Humours* by Jacques de Gheyn.

Figure 10. Allegory of medicine by H. Goltzius.

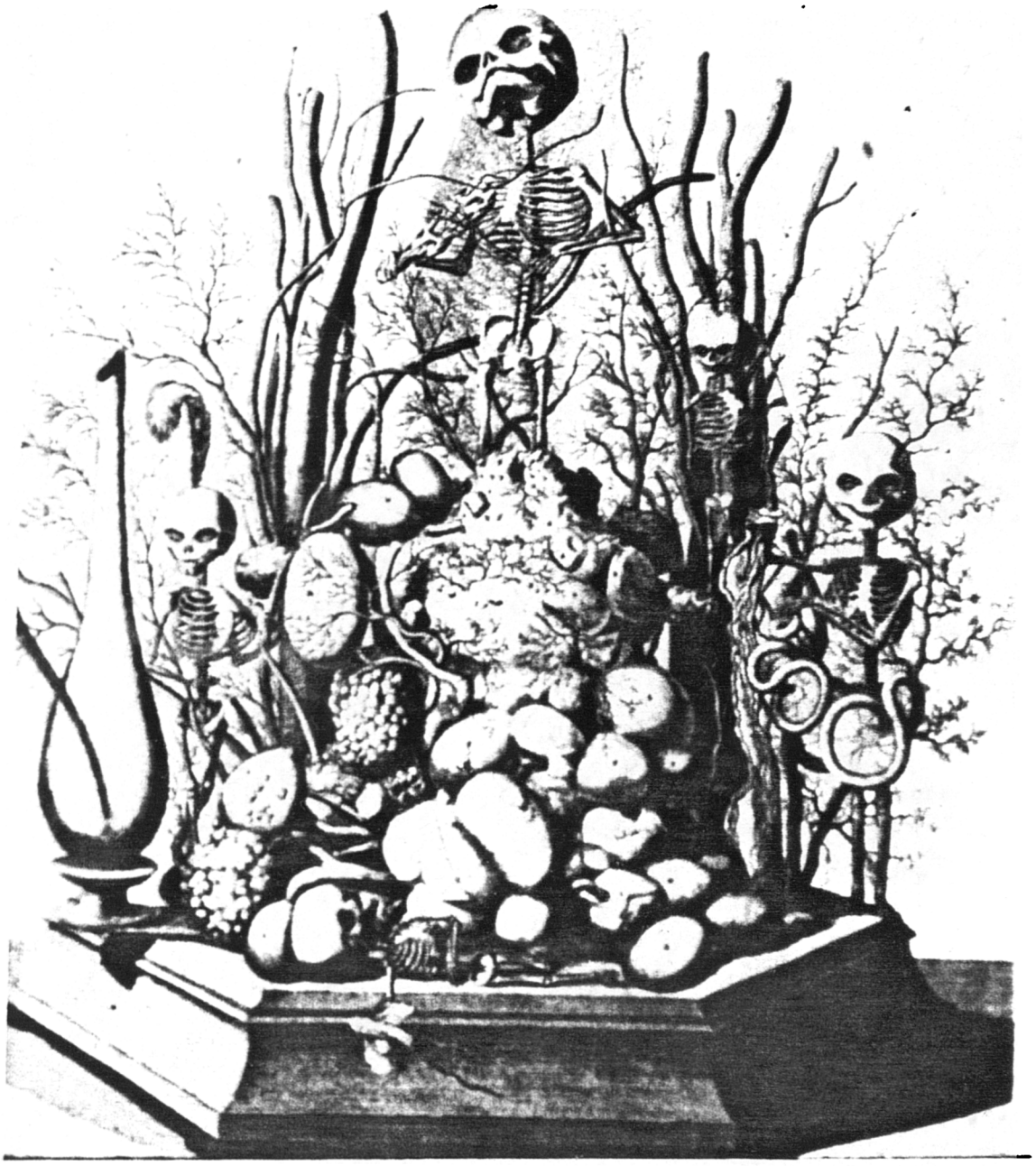

Figure 11. Emblematic landscape by Frederik Van Ruysch.

Chapter Two: Food, Drink, and Fables

The circumstances of Mandeville's arrival in England remains uncertain. He probably arrived sometime in 1692 and the record office holds permission for a passport for a Bernard Mandeville dated 1693. The next available record of Mandeville dates from 1700 when he appeared in the divorce proceedings of Lord and Lady Norfolk, acting as translator for a Dutch maid-in-waiting, who was to provide valuable evidence. Nothing is known of how Mandeville spent his first years in England or how he survived financially. Possibly his time was spent in building up a medical practice and, perhaps, in subsidizing himself with translation work. Parish records show that he married Ruth Elizabeth Lawrence in 1699 and that they had a son, Michael in 1700.

The first work attributed to Mandeville appears slightly later than this period in 1703. It is a small pamphlet containing a poem - *The Pamphleteers, A Satyr* - which defends the recently deceased William III against the attacks being launched against him.[1] Although the poem cannot definitely be attributed to Mandeville, the evidence available does point to his authorship. Apart from internal evidence, the poem was published by Richard Wellington who also published Mandeville's *Some Fables after the Easie and Familiar Method of Monsieur de la Fontaine* in the same year.[2] Structurally the poem's argument is similar to the method

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[1] *The Pamphleteers, A Satyr* (London, 1703).

[2] Bernard Mandeville, *Some Fables after the Easie and Familiar Method of Monsieur de la Fontaine* (London, 1703).

Mandeville would use constantly in his other works. An opposition is set up between the world of William III, the 'Valiant King' and the Jacobite critics who scorn his memory, preferring 'St. *Germain*' and 'the Mushroom King that Lewis made'. William is associated with honesty, piety, and, above all, bravery:

> In Front of Battle, and the foremost Fire,
> Whence it's no shame for Gen'rals to retire,
> There William used to lead, and he was Brave
> That follow'd but th'Examples which he gave.
> There shew'd our Hero, charging thro' the Flame,
> His daring Host, the rugged Path to Fame.[3]

He is perceived as the modern incarnation of the classical hero, greater even than Hannibal, equal perhaps to Aeneas,

> In Winter Season, when the Gallick Pow'r
> Prepar'd for War, and threatened every Hour,
> His unprovided Country to invade,
> Then brought that Prince his Forces to our Aid.
> But on Tempestuous Seas his Ships are tost,
> Some shatter'd, others on the Sands are lost:
> Forc'd back himself, part of his Fleet he views,
> And of the rest with patience waits the News.
> Now Jesuits their keenest Satyr vent,
> And Crowing *France* Laughs at the mad Descent.
> But Vertue in Misfortune shines the more,
> The Prince goes on, as he resolv'd before:
> His Friends dissuade the Voyage, but in vain,
> He ventures on the inconstant Waves again:
> And Starless Nights, with former Losses joyn'd,
> Cannot divert the Hero's steady Mind.[4]

William's opponents, however, are associated with theft, folly and

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[3] *Pamphleteers* 7-8.

[4] *Pamphleteers* 4-5.

treachery. In another image characteristic of Mandeville's later work, they are compared to the serpent which threatens Eden,

> The Snake is hid, their Venom is not thrown
> On the Dead King, 'tis levell'd at the Crown...
> They vent their Spleen against all Protestants.[5]

Finally, the poet brings together both worlds in a passage that seems to look forward to the imagery of *The Grumbling Hive.* Defending William's record he exclaims

> What has he done? Has he betray'd his Trust?
> Was he not Pious, Merciful, and Just?
> Which were the Crimes of his Inglorious Reign?
> Can y'of his sloth or luxury complain?
> What mighty Pleasures did divide his years?
> The softest Seasons still imploy'd in Wars;
> The other's spent in striving to Appease
> A grumbling Nation that was ne'er at ease.[6]

Certainly this sounds like Mandeville and the subject, a defence of William III and an attack on France and Jacobites, is one which he would explore through the first decade of the century. It is, for instance, an underlying issue in his first known work, *Some Fables after the Easie and Familiar Method of Monsieur de la Fontaine,* which was first published in 1703 and reissued the following year as *Aesop Dress'd.*[7] The first edition contained twenty seven translations of LaFontaine's fables and two others composed by

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[5] *Pamphleteers* 8.

[6] *Pamphleteers* 6.

[7] Bernard Mandeville, *Aesop Dress'd; or a Collection of Fables Writ in Familiar Verse* (London, 1704).

Mandeville himself. The second edition added an extra ten fables from LaFontaine, simply placing five before and five after the original text.

Mandeville's decision to write and translate fables was taken in a period when the fable was highly popular. Throughout the early seventeenth century the fable in England had generally been considered as a vehicle for the education of schoolchildren. After the civil war, however, the genre became increasingly popular as a means of political satire. The first author to make this trend apparent was John Ogilby in his *Fables of Aesop,* published in 1668.[8] This book was an expensive and lavishly illustrated volume which turned the translations of Aesop towards the political concerns of late seventeenth-century England. Commenting on the international situation in the moral of several of his fables he gave a new social significance to the fable genre. This trend was given even greater impetus by the publication of Roger L'Estrange's *Fables of Aesop and other Eminent Mythologists* in 1692.[9] Clearly Tory in its outlook, this work employed the fable to state the policy of divine right. In 'The Frogs chuse a king', for instance, the tale of the frogs asking for a king and receiving a stork which feeds off them is rounded off with a 'Moral' and a 'Reflection'. The Moral states that

> The Mobile are uneasie without a Ruler: They are as Restless with one; and the oftener they shift, the Worse they Are; So that Government, or no Government; a King

[8] John Ogilby, *The Fables of Aesop* (London, 1668).

[9] Roger L'Estrange, *Fables of Aesop and other Eminent Mythologists: with Morals and Reflections* (London, 1692).

> of God's Making, or of the Peoples, or none at all; the Multitude are never to be satisfied.[10]

The 'Reflexion' then explains that

> This Fable, under the Emblem of the Frogs, sets forth the Murmuring, and the Unsteadiness of the Common People; that in a State of Liberty will have a *King*: They do not like him when they have him, and so Change again, and grow Sicker of the next, than they were of the Former...
>
> By which, the Frogs are given to Understand the very truth of the Matter, as we find it in the World, both in the Nature, and Reason of the Thing, and in Policy and Religion; which is, That *Kings are from God*, and that it is a Sin, a Folly, and a Madness, to struggle with his Appointments.[11]

Such sentiments verge on the Jacobite and were to set a precedent for a flood of politically motivated fables. In 1698 fables focusing on Aesop began to appear, the first being *Aesop at Tunbridge*, and attack on William III and the Whigs. This was followed by an attack on Jacobites called *Aesop at Bath* and other fables including *Aesop Return'd from Tunbridge*, *Old Aesop at Whitehall*, and *Aesop at Amsterdam*, all of which aimed their message at one political party or another. These were followed by such titles as , *Aesop at Islington* (1699), *Aesop in Spain* (1701), *Aesop at Court* (1702), *Aesop the Wanderer* (1704), and *Aesop in Masquerade*.[12]

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[10] L'Estrange, *Fables* 20.

[11] L'Estrange, *Fables* 20-21.

[12] *Aesop at Tunbridge* (London, 1698); *Aesop at Bath* (London, 1698); *Aesop Return'd from Tunbridge* (London, 1698); *Old Aesop at Whitehall* (London, 1698); *Aesop at Amsterdam* (London, 1698); *Aesop at Islington* (London, 1699); *Aesop in Spain* (London, 1701); *Aesop at Court* (London, 1702); *Aesop the Wanderer*

It was within this context that Mandeville launched his translation of LaFontaine. The prevalence of 'Aesop' also may explain the change in the title of the second edition of 1704 to *Aesop Dress'd.* While Mandeville's fables do not include Aesop as a character, and only include his fables by indirect transmission through LaFontaine, the new title was definitely more commercial and more memorable. Both titles, however, emphasize one facet of the work in particular - the style. The original title stressed that the fables were 'after the Easie and Familiar Method of LaFontaine' and the second, *Aesop Dress'd*, although more oblique and compressed, also points to the reworking of tradition which translation or imitation necessarily invokes. The use of the word 'Dress'd' would have recalled the opening lines of L'Estrange's preface to his *Fables of Aesop*, where he too confronts the aesopic tradition, saying

> *We have had the History of* Aesop *so many times over and over, and dress'd up so many several Ways; that it would be but Labour Lost to Multiply Unprofitable Conjectures upon a Tradition of so Great Uncertainty. Writers are divided about him, almost to all manner of purposes: And particularly concerning the Authority, even of the greater part of Those Compositions that pass the World in his Name: For, the Story is come down to us so Dark and Doubtful, that it is Impossible to Distinguish the* Original *from the* Copy*: And to say, which of the Fables are* Aesops*, and which not; which are* Genuine*, and which* Spurious.[13]

Mandeville's title neatly alludes to the ambivalence which

(London, 1704); and *Aesop in Masquerade* (London, 1718).

13 L'Estrange, *Fables* n.n.

L'Estrange outlines here, an ambivalence strengthened by the complex relation his own fables bear to those of Aesop. The emphasis on 'dressing' the fables continues in Mandeville's own preface to the second edition where he evokes the multiple uses of the verb 'to dress', reminding the reader of its use in 'to dress a meal' and 'to dress a portico':

> *Prefaces and Cuts are commonly made use of much to the same Purpose; to set off, and to explain. The latter, being too expensive, are pretty well out of date, in an Age, where there are abundance of fine things to be bought besides Books. But the first by wicked Custom, are become so necessary, that a Volume would look as defective without one, as if it wanted the very Title Page..Nay, what is worse, every Body thinks a Man should be more lavish here of his skill and Learning, than any where else...and therefore most Authors adorn their Prefaces, as if they were triumphal Arches; there's nothing empty to be seen about 'em, and from top to bottom they are to be crowded with Emblem and pretty Sayings, judiciously interwoven with scraps of* Latin*; though they should borrow 'em from the Parson of the Parish. These, I say, are the Entertainments where they love to glut us with Wit and fine Language; though they starve us for ever after: Which makes some of 'em look like a rich piece of Fillegrew Work over the Door of an empty Parlour. But I am resolved my Portico shall suit with the rest of the House, and, as every thing is plain within, nothing shall be carv'd of gilt without.*[14]

Here Mandeville not only manages to explore the various metaphors for stylistic practice but also to point out the ornamental dimensions of the preface itself. This is the first of many self-

[14] Mandeville, *Aesop Dress'd* n. n..

conscious, playful and layered prefaces which Mandeville was to prefix to his works. In them he not only explores the relationship between the preface and the main text but he also investigates the self-interest and the tactical aims of the author's relationship with the reader.

The preface to *Aesop Dress'd* is also at pains to underline the ease with which the text can be consumed by the reader. Echoing the earlier title's stress in the 'Easie and Familiar Method', Mandeville remarks that

> *I hate formality, Good Reader, and all my Business with you is to let you know, that I have writ some Fables in Verse, after the Familiar Way of a Great Man in France,* Monsieur de la Fontaine. *I have confin'd my self to strict Numbers, and endeavour'd to make 'em free and natural...Two of the Fables are of my own invention; but I am so far from loving 'em the better, that I think they are the worst in the Pack: And therefore in good Manners to my self I conceal their Names. Find 'em out, and welcome. I could wish to have furnish'd you with something more worthy your precious time: But as you'll find nothing very Instructive, so there's little to puzzle your Brain.*[15]

The sober, self-deprecation almost acquires a Calvinist tone as the apology for the text grows longer. Only the ease with which these 'Trifles' can be read mitigates their very existence, as Mandeville claims they are not even instructive.

Such an insistent dismissal of the books worth is almost convincing unless the reader has a knowledge of LaFontaine's preface to his *Fables*.[16] There, LaFontaine adopts a similar tone

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[15] Mandeville, *Aesop Dress'd* n. n..

[16] LaFontaine, *LaFontaine's Fables* trans. Robert Thomson (Paris, 1806) 14-

of serious, sober, self-deprecation. He begins by apologizing for attempting to couch the fables in a verse form, saying

> The indulgence shown to some of my Fables encourages me to expect the same favour for this Collection. Not but that one of our masters of eloquence has disaproved the idea of rendering them into verse---thinking that their principal ornament is to have none; that besides, the rules of poetry, joined to the severity of our language, would often embarrass me, and from the greater part of my tales exclude brevity, which is the spirit of the subject, since without that it becomes insipid.[17]

Having remarked that brevity is vital to the success of a fable, he goes on to claim that

> Thus I think I have sufficiently justified my undertaking: as to the performance, the public will judge. The reader will neither find here the elegance, not uncommon brevity, so much admired in Phoedrus; for these are talents above my reach. As it was therefore impossible for me to imitate him in these, I thought it necessary to supply this defect, by enlivening the work more than he has done.[18]

Here, LaFontaine, like Mandeville, claims only that his fables are pleasing and easy to read. Later again, however, he rejects any emphasis on style in a passage which focuses instead on the fables' content:

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17 LaFontaine, *LaFontaine's Fables* 14. "L'indulgence que l'on a eue pour quelques-unes de mes Fables...il faut nécessairement qu'il languisse."

18 LaFontaine, *LaFontaine's Fables* 19. "Je pense avoir justifié suffisamment mon dessein...égayer l'Ouvrage plus qu'il n'a fait."

> But this work is not to be esteemed so much by the form I have given it, as by its utility, and the matter it contains. For what is there really recommendable in the productions of the mind that is not to be found in the Apologue? There is something in it so supernatural, that several personages of antiquity have attributed the greater part of these fables to Socrates, choosing to give them for father a mortal who had such communication with the gods. I know not indeed why they have not given these fables a celestial origin, and assigned them the patronage of a god, as well as poetry and eloquence.[19]

The irony in this passage informs the preface of *Aesop Dress'd* too. In adopting a tone of self-deprecation, discussing the 'easie' style of the fables and apologizing for their triviality, Mandeville is actually beginning the process of imitation which he uses to transmit his selection of fables. His title - *Aesop Dress'd* - and the deliberate interaction of his preface with that of LaFontaine remind the reader that the fables are not original and have no definitive form. Instead they are stories that mutate constantly as they pass from one writer to another, defying any authority an author might try to impose on them. They have been 'dress'd up so many several Ways' as L'Estrange remarks that they form '*a Tradition of ...Great Incertainty' in which 'it is Impossible to Distinguish the* Original *from the* Copy'.[20]

By aligning himself with such a vague tradition, Mandeville manages to undercut his own authority within the volume of fables,

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[19] LaFontaine, *LaFontaine's Fables* 21. "Mais ce n'est pas tant par la forme...ainsi qu'à la Poésie et à l'Éloquence."

[20] L'Estrange, *Fables* n.n.

using the preface to subvert the pride and self-interest of authorship. This technique also highlights the question of pride and self-interest in the process of interpretation. The long tradition of reworking Aesop's fables constantly reveals the motivations behind each new translation, imitation or adaptation. Furthermore, the reader is made aware of the problems involved in the act of reading and interpretation. In the second half of the seventeenth century these issues had become central to the fable as it became a popular genre again and as it was subjected to such intense political employment, particularly in England. In France the fable became associated with the emblem, the device, the hieroglyphick and other forms which demanded a high level of interpretative skills from a reader. In *L'Art des Emblêmes*, Pierre Menestrier, iconographer to Louis XIV, included the fable in his discussion of emblematics and paid particular attention to LaFontaine's work saying,

> Aesop's apologues are themselves emblems, because these apologues where their authors make plants, animals, and other natural or artifical things speak always have their moral lesson adjoined to the speech and actions of these animals.[21]

As an illustration of this point Menestrier quotes the fable 'Les Deux Mulets' and adds

> To make this Apologue a standard emblem, it is only

[21] Claude-François Menestrier, *L'Art des Emblèmes* (Paris, 1684; New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1979) 27. 'Les Apologues d'Esope sont aussi d'eux-mêmes des Emblêmes...aux actions de ces animaux.'

> necessary to draw these two mules, one lying on the ground and wounded, after the robbers have stripped it of its burden; and the other loaded with its panier of hay, and to add this verse to the picture.
> *It isn't always good to have an important job.*[22]

Menestrier then goes further, arguing that LaFontaine creates a visual image, or picture in his verse and uses the moral of the fable to comment on it in the same way as an emblem functions:

> The astrologer who lets himself fall in a well while wanting to contemplate the stars, is another Apologue which can easily be made into an emblem. Monsieur de la Fontaine constructs the picture and the motto of this emblem in four lines.
>
> 
>
> *one day an astrologer lets himself fall in a well*
> *One says of him, poor beast,*
> *when you can scarcely see what's at your feet*
> *do you think to read what's above your head?*
> The first two lines create the picture and the following two compose the motto and combine the images to the moral which teaches us that we should not neglect that which is vital to our conduct in order to give ourselves over to things above us.[23]

In England, there was a similar emphasis on the visual elements of the fable stretching back at least to Francis Barlow's *Aesop's*

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[22] Menestrier, 28. 'Pour faire de cet Apologue un Emblême regulier...*Il n'est pas toujours bon d'avoir un haut employ.*'

[23] Menestrier, 29. 'L'astrologue qui se laisse tomber dans un puits en voulant contempler les Astres...pour nous attacher à des choses qui font au dessus de nous.'

Fables (1666) and Ogilby's *The Fables of Aesop* and *Aesopics* (1666 & 1668).[24] These volumes contained fables which were accompanied by fine engravings illustrating each of the stories. This tradition continued into the eighteenth century with such editions as Samuel Croxall's 1722 *Fables of Aesop* where the cuts and general layout of the work are strongly reminiscent of the emblem-book.[25]

It is this tradition of cuts and engravings which Mandeville rejects in his preface. In the fables themselves, however, he often attempts to create a visual image in the poetry, employing a method similar to that described by Menestrier in his discussion of LaFontaine's 'L'Astrologue qui se laisse tomber dans un puits'. In 'The Countryman and the Knight', for instance, Mandeville expands LaFontaine's fable ('Le Jardinier et son Seigneur') to create an unmistakably English scene, reminiscent of a restoration play. The French version had presented an opening scene in concise, elegant strokes, conveying a pleasant rural picture:

> A man whose gardening filled his days,
> Half townsman and half peasant,
> Had found a cosy country-place
> With gardens trim and pleasant:
> Secluded in its thick, neat hedge
> Here sorrel and sweet lettuce grew
> And birthday osies for his Madge,
> And thyme, and spanish jasmin too.
> Alas, a hare destroyed this paradise,
> So that he told the Squire his sufferings[26]

[24] Francis Barlow, *Aesop's Fables* (London, 1666); John Ogilby, *The Fables of Aesop* (London, 1668); John Ogilby, *Aesopics* (London, 1668).

[25] Samuel Croxall, *Fables of Aesop and Others* (London, 1722).

Mandeville both lengthens this and transforms it into an English setting with a plainer tone which builds on LaFontaine's familiarity in his 'De quoi faire à Margot pour sa fête un bouquet':

> An honest Countryman had got
> Behind his House a pretty Spot,
> Of Garden Ground, with all what might
> Contribute to the Taste and Sight,
> The Rose and Lilly, which have been
> Still kept to compliment the Skin,
> Poppies renown'd for giving ease,
> With Roman Lettice, Endive, Pease,
> And Beans, which Nat'ralists do reckon
> To be so ominous to Bacon.
> The Beds were dung'd, the Walks well swept,
> And every thing was nicely kept.
> Only a Hare wou'd now and then
> Spite of the Master and the Men
> Make raking work for half a day,
> Then fill her Gut and scow'r away.
> In vain they beat and search the Ground,
> The cunning Jilt can ne'er be found,
> The Master once in angry Mood
> Starts up and swears by all that's good,
> He'd be revenged, that he would...[27]

In his introduction to the facsimile reprint of *Aesop Dress'd*, John S. Shea argues that Mandeville's translations are longer than the French models because 'Mandeville's octosyllabic line is less capacious, as a rule, than LaFontaine's flexible one' and because 'Mandeville is not able to match LaFontaine's wit and point'.[28] To

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[26] LaFontaine, *LaFontaine: 100 Fables*, trans. Francis Scarfe (Paris: Publications of the British Institute in Paris, 1985) 191. 'Un amateur du jardinage...Fit qu'au Seigneur du Bourg notre homme se plaignit.'

[27] Mandeville, *Aesop Dress'd* 10-11.

a certain extent this is true. The technical limitations of the octosyllabic line do prevent the compression of the verse and Mandeville was certainly not a poet with the skills of LaFontaine. Despite this, however, it seems likely that much of Mandeville's expansion of the fables was a deliberate attempt to create a visual narrative which would place the poem's moral in a specific English context. This is well illustrated by another passage in 'The Countryman and the Knight' where Mandeville is 'translating' the lines which recount the knight's arrival at the countryman's home. LaFontaine simply writes

> The arrangement made, he came, with all his folk.
> 'You've tender fowl? We'll snack, before the chase.
> Ah! that's your lass? - Come, show your pretty face.
> She'll marry soon? What lucky man will get her?[29]

In Mandeville's version this becomes,

> At break of Day Jack winds his Horn,
> The Beagles scamper thro' the Corn;
> Deep mouth'd Curs set up a Cry,
> And make a cursed Symphony.
> Now stir you Rogues; the Knight is come
> With Robin, Lightfoot, Dick and Tom.
> The House is full of Dogs and Boys,
> And ev'ry where's a horrid Noise,
> Well, Landlord, Come, What shall we do?
> Must w'eat a Bit before we go?
> What have you got? Now all's fetch'd out,

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[28] John S. Shea, introduction, *Aesop Dress'd: or a Collection of Fables Writ in Familiar Verse* by Bernard Mandeville (Los Angeles: The Augustan Reprint Society, 1966) v.

[29] LaFontaine, *LaFontaine: 100 Fables*, 191. 'La Partie ainsi faite, il vient avec ses gens... quand aurons-nous des gendres?'

The Victuals rak'd, and tore about.
One pairs the Loaf, another Groom
Draws Beer, as if he was at home,
And spils it half about the Room.
What Horseman's yonder at the Door?
Why, Faith, there's half a dozen more:
They're Gentlemen, that live at Court,
Come down the Country for some Sport;
Some old Acquaintance of the Knight,
Who whips from Table, bids 'em light.
They ask no Questions but sit down,
Fall too as if it were their own.
One finishes the Potted Salmon,
Then swears, because he had no Lemon.
Good Lord, how sharp the Rogues are set!
It puts my Landlord in a Sweat.
His Daughter comes with fresh Supplies
Of Collard Beef and Apple-pies.
His Worship falls aboard of her;
The modest Creature quakes for fear.
When do we marry Mistress Ann?
Who is to be the happy Man?[30]

Here it is the visual imagery which is emphasized, as well as the English conversational style. The whole scene is an inflated stereotype of English life at the turn of the eighteenth century. It does, however, establish the fables very obviously within a specific English context - one that is contemporary to Mandeville's readers and politically pertinent. Interestingly, the first edition of the fables opened with 'The Countryman and the Knight', stressing this English context for the fables and placing them in a political context with the moral,

When petty Princes can't agree,

[30] Mandeville, *Aesop Dress'd* 11-12.

And strive for Superiority,
They often take my Landlord's Course,
Invite for Aid a foreign Force;
And when their Subjects Slaves are made,
Their Countries all in ruins laid,
As commonly it proves their fate,
Repent with him when its too late.[31]

Given that England and Holland had recently embarked on war with France again, it would have been impossible for a contemporary reader of the fable to ignore the lesson in this moral.

Mandeville's selections of fables for translations all relate to a political theme, though not in the sectarian, party tone of either L'Estrange or Croxall. Instead, the selection made by Mandeville set out a series of lessons on the proper way to rule a state and the role of the individual within that larger body. On the role of the individual, he stresses the tensions within the individual which arise from the passions - physical sources - and which must be balanced with the demands of the state without damaging self-interest. When this balance is not achieved, Mandeville points out that it is usually because of an inability to perceive the true relation of things. Vision, in this world, is often blurred by pride and a refusal to acknowledge the physical - bestial - impulses that shape human actions and desires.

Both of the fables of Mandeville's own invention are concerned with the individual and the political state. In 'The Carp' an English Carp encounters two herrings and explains that he has come 'To learn your Manners and your Arts'. When the herrings ask him about his own country's ministers, laws, taxes and courts, he protests

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[31] Mandeville, *Aesop Dress'd* 14.

that he is

> a gentle Fish,
> And we know nothing of those matters;[32]

For Mandeville this is an example of the inability to perceive the nature of government and therefore, not knowing how the state works, the carp is vulnerable and ripe for abuse,

> *Some Fops that visit France and Rome,*
> *Before they know what's done at home,*
> *Look like our Carp when come again.*
> *Strange Countries may improve a Man,*
> *That knew the World before he went;*
> *But he, that sets out ignorant,*
> *Whom only Vanity intices,*
> *Brings Nothing from 'em, but their Vices.*[33]

In 'The Nightingale and Owl' another example of blindness, this time through vanity, is the nightingale who delays answering the king's bidding to court where he is to act as nightwatchman. The job eventually goes to an owl who displays 'Loyalty and Diligence'. Again the fable's moral lifts it from the mythical world into the contemporary context of eighteenth-century politics:

> *Princes can never satisfy*
> *That Worth that rates itself too high.*
> *What Pity it is ! some Men of Parts*
> *Should have such haughty stubborn Hearts:*
> *When once they are courted they grow vain...*
> *Th'are utterly untractable*
> *And put off like our Nightingale.*[34]

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[32] Mandeville, *Aesop Dress'd* 26.

[33] Mandeville, *Aesop Dress'd* 27.

All the fabulists of the time attempt to attack pride, of course, but generally it is only one vice among many. For Mandeville it is the primary flaw which motivates all levels of society and he underscores this point in his translation of LaFontaine's 'The Frog'. As this fable was also translated by L'Estrange and Croxall it is possible to compare the translations and get a clearer view of Mandeville's method of interpretation. The fable originally appears in Aesop and it is translated concisely by LaFontaine but with the addition of a four-line moral which relates it to seventeenth-century France:

> Society has far more snobs, than sages.
> Each tradesman builds his castle, like a lord.
> Small princes send ambassadors abroad.
> Dim peers strut round, with pages.[35]

L'Estrange, in his 1692 translation, ignores the possibilities of an explicit contemporary reference and instead focuses on a vaguely religious censoriousness which points to abstract vices

> *Betwixt Pride, Envy and Ambition, man fancy Themselves to be Bigger then they are, and Other People to be Less: And This Tumour Swells it self at last 'till it makes All Fly.*[36]

Mandeville likewise points to Pride but again decides to expand on

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[34] Mandeville, *Aesop Dress'd* 33.

[35] LaFontaine, *LaFontaine: 100 Fables*, 83. 'Le monde est plein de gens qui ne sont pas plus sages...Tout Marquis veut avoir des Pages.'

[36] L'Estrange, *Fables* 34.

LaFontaine's contemporary allusions. The fable is cast in comic restoration dialogue as usual, and LaFontaine's moral is drawn out into an English setting,

> So full of Pride is every Age!
> A Citizen must have a Page,
> A Petty Prince Ambassadors,
> And Tradesmens Children Governours;
> A Fellow, that i'n't worth a Louse,
> Still keeps his Coach and Country-house;
> A Merchant swell'd with haughtiness,
> Looks ten times bigger than he is;
> Buys all, and draws upon his Friend,
> As if his Credit had no end;
> At length he strains with so much Force,
> Till, like the Frog, he burst in course,
> And, by his empty Skin you find,
> That he was only fill'd with Wind.[37]

The characters have been adapted to English types but more importantly, by using the metaphor of credit as wind, Mandeville retells the fable in the last lines. This is a wholly original addition and it serves to link the frog and the merchant inextricably. The merchant strains his credit to bursting point, but when Mandeville refers to his 'empty Skin' the metaphor itself appears to deflate into a literal meaning, leaving the merchant as physically ruined as the frog. It is in such syntactical twists that man is given a bestial dimension in the fables and, as with the merchant, it is just when a human vainly imagines himself rising above this level that it made inescapable.

In Croxall's version the story of the fable itself is changed by

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[37] Mandeville, *Aesop Dress'd* 5.

making the ox an unwitting protagonist,

> An Ox, grasing in a Meadow, chanc'd to set his Foot among a Parcel of young Frogs, and trod one of them to Death. The rest inform'd their Mother, when she came home, what had happen'd; telling her, that the Beast which did it was the hugest Creature that ever they saw in their Lives...[38]

The mother frog then attempts to make herself as big and bursts. This addition to the beginning of the fable, however, does confuse the motivation for her action. Rather than simple vanity, the reader now tends to think of the frog's actions in terms of revenge, or rashness that is excusable because of emotional shock. Croxall's moral does not pick up any new lessons from the changed storyline but rather, it concentrates on the role of vanity in contemporary life, building on Mandeville's ideas. Opening the moral with the remark that many men are ruined by striving to equal those greater then themselves, he goes on to give a specific fictional example.

> Sir *Changeling Plumbstock* was possess'd of a very considerable Demesns, devolv'd to him...He had a false Taste of Happiness; and, without the least Economy, trusting to the Sufficiency of his vast Revenues, was resolv'd to be out-done by no body, in shewish Grandeur, and expensive Living...he one Day happen'd to take of my Lord *Castlebuilder*'s Gardens, which consist of twenty Acres, whereas his own were not above twelve. For from that Time he grew pensive; and before the ensuing Winter gave five and thirty Years Purchase for a dozen Acres more to enlarge his Gardens, built a couple of exorbitant Green-houses, and a large Pavilion at the farther end of a Terras-Walk. The bare Repairs and Superintendancies of all which, call for the remaining

[38] Croxall, *Fables of Aesop* 18-19.

> Part of his Income. He is mortgag'd pretty deep, and pays no body; But, being a privileg'd Person, resides altogether at a private cheap Lodging in the City of *Westminster*.[39]

This obviously is indebted to the use of contemporary reference in both LaFontaine and Mandeville's version of the fable. Given, however, that it was produced in 1722, it is possible that it was also very much influenced by Mandeville's technique in his 1714 edition of *The Fable of the Bees* where a moral drawn from 'The Grumbling Hive' is used to head a prose commentary which often includes a fictional example drawn from eighteenth-century London life.[40]

Of all these versions of 'The Frog and the Ox', then, Mandeville's is different in one important respect - the intimate physical link he forges between man and animal. All the fabulists draw a comparison between man and beast and several also relate it to contemporary life and manners but none emphasize the bestial nature of man in the same way. Mandeville makes the connection explicit in the second edition of the fables when he added ten new translations. The five added to the beginning of the text all stress the interaction of politics, pride and the individual's role in the larger body politic. These themes are most fully expressed in the fifth of the fables, 'The Hands Feet, and Belly'. In LaFontaine's version there are two distinct parts to the fable.[41] The first narrates the Aesopic story of the mutiny of the hands and feet, the

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[39] Croxall, *Fables of Aesop* 19-20.

[40] Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* (London, 1714).

[41] LaFontaine, *LaFontaine: 100 Fables*, 180-83. 'Les Membres et L'Estomac'.

enfeeblement of the stomach and subsequent dissolution of the body. The second part recounts the use of this apologue by Meninius in order to quell a public insurrection and restore harmony to the state. Mandeville drops this second part and focuses solely on the apologue, doubling its length to sixty eight lines and adding a twenty line moral. Such a dramatic revision of the LaFontaine structure cannot be plausibly explained as a demand of metre. Rather the changes suggest a deliberate change of focus on Mandeville's part and, on a broader level, they point to a creative process of imitation in *Aesop Dress'd* and not simply a series of translations.

Given Mandeville's professional interest in digestion it is not surprising that he would be attracted to the fable of 'The Hands, Feet, and Belly'. In it, he has the opportunity to link the metaphor of the body politic to the reality of the human, physical body, pointing out the tensions and balances between the two. In the opening lines he quickly establishes the physicality of the body, as the hands and feet protest at their conditions:

> The Feet said, truly its a Jest,
> That we should carry all the rest;
> March at all Hours thro thick and thin,
> With Shoes that let the Water in;
> Our Nails are hard as Bullock's Horns,
> Our Toes beset with plaguy Corns;
> We rais'd four Blisters th'other Night,
> And yet got not a farthing by't.
> Brothers, reply'd the Hands, 'tis true,
> We know what hardship's y'undergo;
> But then w'are greater Slaves than you;
> For tho' all day we scrape and rake,

> And labour till our Fringers [sic] ake...
> W'are forced to serve at every meal,
> And often, whilst you're set at ease,
> Drudge to the Knuckles up in Grease;
> As for your Corns and Nails in troth,
> We have the trouble of cutting both.[42]

Tired of labouring to stretch the 'everlasting Skin' of 'Lord *Abdomen*' they refuse to feed the belly and finally 'His Gutship' can no longer sustain the body and it expires. Mandeville's moral then explains that

> *The Belly is the Government,*
> *From whence the Nourishment is sent,*
> *Of wholesome Laws for mutual Peace,*
> *For Plenty, Liberty and Ease,*
> *To all the Body Politick,*
> *Which where it fails the Nation's sick.*
> *The Members are the discontent*
> *Ple beians; that are ignorant,*
> *How necessary for the State*
> *It is, that Princes should be great:* [43]

The metaphor of digestion - 'wholesome Laws' as 'nourishment' - animates this description of the belly and the body politic. The intense physicality of the preceding apologue, where individual pain is described, is set in contrast to the needs of this larger, abstract body. This contrast is reinforced by the colloquial, conversational tone of the apologue and the smoother, serious voice in the moral. It is these colloquial, individual voices that must be harmonized in the more anonymous stately voice of the nation.

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[42] Mandeville, *Aesop Dress'd* 7-8.

[43] Mandeville, *Aesop Dress'd* 9.

Almost all of the fables in *Aesop Dress'd* repeat this lesson. Mandeville outlines a pattern of prudential morality which should preserve the health of the body politic. The most important ingredient in this receipt, however, is balance. If the individual must compromise physical and mental desires for the good of the state, then it is useful to remember that the state can also demand too much, to the cost of the individual. In 'The Hands, Feet, and Belly', for instance, Mandeville points to 'wholesome Laws for mutual Peace', arguing that

> *The Vulgar think all Courts to be*
> *But Seats of Sloth and Luxury...*
> *Whilst Subjects, that assist the Crown,*
> *But labour to maintain their own.*[44]

The moral of a later fable, 'The Plague among the Beasts' ends with the warning that

> *The Fable shews you poor Folk's fate*
> *Whilst Laws can never reach the Great.*[45]

The state and the individual are left to negotiate a 'mutual Peace' somewhere between these two statements. The fables continually stress the bestial viciousness that dominates such transactions but also reminds the readers of their own bestial nature and of the possibility of some harmony. The moral of the penultimate fable, 'The Dog and the Ass', declares that

> *None can live happily together,*

[44] Mandeville, *Aesop Dress'd* 10.

[45] Mandeville, *Aesop Dress'd* 16.

Without assisting one another.[46]

The final fable, 'The Fox and Wolf', tempers this moral with another which again links man and animal in a mutual fate:

> Don't blame the stupid Animal,
> You credit things less probable;
> And most Men easily give ear,
> To what they either wish or fear.[47]

This reminder that man is also an animal and a fool is taken up in the preface of Mandeville's next work *Typhon: or the Wars between the Gods and Giants* (1704).[48] *Typhon*, an imitation of the seventeenth-century French poet Paul Scarron's work *Le Typhon, ou La Gigantomachie*, opens with an epistle to the reader, dedicated 'To The Serenissime The Numerous Society of F--ls in *London* and *Westminster*'.[49] Playing first on the popular image of Scarron as a paralyzed cripple, Mandeville quickly situates the reader in the interstices of the chain of being,

> *Monsieur Scarron* the most Comical Gentleman, that ever writ in Torment, Studying, whom to dedicate his burlesque Poems to, pitch'd at last on his Sisters little Bitch: And another merry Fellow on the same account craved the patronage of a Lady's Monkey: Either of 'em having more Manners, than to trouble Men of Sense with Works of that Nature, tho' the latter outstrip the first in

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[46] Mandeville, *Aesop Dress'd* 73.

[47] Mandeville, *Aesop Dress'd* 75.

[48] Bernard Mandeville, *Typhon: or the Wars between the Gods and Giants: A Burlesque Poem in Imitation of the Comical Mons. Scarron* (London, 1704).

[49] Paul Scarron, "Le Typhon, ou La Gigantomachie, Poëme Burlesque de Scarron," *Oeuvres* 8 vols. (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970) vol. 5.

> his Choice, by addressing the subtler Animal. I had a mind to imitate both, but to Copy neither; and so was forc'd to look out for something that was above a monkey, and yet below a Rational Creature, which I dare say, was happily accomplish'd in stumbling on your *Serenissime* Follies, whose Praise was the Subject of a Famous Man above Two hundred Years ago.[50]

The clear allusion to Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* may also be backed up by his references to Typhon and the war with the gods in the *The Ciceronian*.[51] There, Erasmus links the question of imitation to Typhon's war on three occasions. Bulephorus, a spokesman for Erasmus and common sense, argues first that literary imitation must never be merely slavish,

> The intention is rather to ensure that we ignore the irrelevant chatter of the apes and proceed to imitate Cicero as far as we may, in his entirety, and with success...Unless emulation is skilful as well as painstaking it will not succeed, and we shall finish up very unlike Cicero. Aspiring to be like Cicero has its dangers, I assure you - the giants came to a bad end for aspiring to the throne of Jove, and several persons were destroyed by their desire to see the gods face to face.[52]

It may be such advice which prompts Mandeville to state that in his use of other authors 'I had a mind to *imitate* both, but to *Copy* neither'. Later, as Erasmus develops his theory of imitation he

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[50] Mandeville, *Typhon* n. n.

[51] Erasmus, *The Ciceronian: A Dialogue on the Ideal Latin Style*, trans. Betty I. Knott (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986) vol. 28 of *The Collected Works of Erasmus.*

[52] Erasmus, *The Ciceronian* 376.

stresses the need for imitation to be suited to the personality of the imitator,

> Every one of us has his own personal inborn characteristics, and these have such force that it is useless for a person fitted by nature for one style of speaking to strive to achieve a different one. As the Greeks say, no one ever succeeded in battling with the gods...
>
> Cicero has some general characteristics which can be applied whatever the subject matter...but this isn't enough for Cicero's apes, they must have total similarity in the very wording.[53]

Having explained that imitation must be in harmony with the personality of the individual, Erasmus goes on to outline this process by using the metaphor of digestion:

> All that you have devoured in a long reading must be thoroughly digested and by the action of thought incorporated into your deepest mental processes, not your memory or word-list.[54]

In the 'Preface' to *Typhon* Mandeville picks up on this development of Erasmian imitation. Having referred to the apish qualities of a slavish imitation, he points to his own work as a meal - something to be digested by the reader. First, however, he reminds us of the culinary preparation of his last work, *Aesop Dress'd*,

> I presented you some time ago with a Dish of *Fables*: but *Wel----ton*, says, *they went down with you like chopt Hay*: Raw, I'm sure, they were very good Meat; and

[53] Erasmus, *The Ciceronian* 396-97.

[54] Erasmus, *The Ciceronian* 402.

> either I have been the Devil of a Cook to 'em, or else your Mouth was out of Taste: if I spoyl'd them in the Dressing, I ask my *French* Caterer's pardon; if not, I know who ought to beg mine. I told you then, that if you did not like them, you should be troubled with no more of 'em, and I have been as good as my word...
>
> Now I have provided you a little *Ragow* of *Gods*, *Giants*, *Pins*, *Speeches*, *Stars*, *Meal-tubs* and other Nick-nacks all jumbled together *a la Francoise*: if it pleases your Palate, there are Four Messes left behind, which you shall have served up, either all together in one great Dish, or else hot and hot, one after another in little *Mazarines* like this, according as the Maggot shall bite.[55]

Mandeville's works are food and he, as poet, is the cook. Such an attitude to literature was not limited, however, to Mandeville at this time. As the medical debates on digestion were fought out in public and constantly spilled over into literature, writers began to explore the possibilities of digestion as a metaphor. Prefaces frequently refer to their own consumption by the reader, indicating an awareness of the new 'consumer' market and the need to 'digest' a text. Not surprisingly, doctors who participated in Grub Street activities often made the best use of the metaphor. George Cheyne, for instance, in his dedication to Lord Bateman at the beginning of the *The English Malady* (1722) provides a fine example:

> I Beg leave to present to your *Lordship* this Treatise, which, while in *Manuscript*, you so kindly and warmly desired to see in *Print*. the chief Design of these Sheets is to recommend to my Fellow Creatures that plain *Diet* which is most agreeable to the Purity and Simplicity of uncorrupted *Nature*, and unconquer'd

[55] Mandeville, *Typhon* n. n.

> *Reason*. Ill would it suit, *my Lord*, with such a Design to introduce it with a Dedication cook'd up to the Height of a *French* or *Italian* Taste. Addressed of this Kind are generally a Sort of *Ragous* and *Olios*, compounded of Ingredients as pernicious to the Mind as such unnatural Meats are to the Body. Servile Flattery, fulsome Compliments, and *bombast Panegyrick* make up the *nauseous* Composition. But I know that your *Lordship*'s Taste is too delicate, and your Judgement too chaste to be able to bear such *Cookery*.[56]

Cheyne manages to include the metaphor and to repudiate it in favour of his own 'sober' prose, just as his book recommends a lean healthy diet rather than the excesses of French cuisine. In an essay in the June 1713 issue of the *Guardian* Pope, too, mocks this conflation of literature and cookery in a description which recall Mandeville's *Typhon*. Pope remarks that

> As that kind of Literature is at present carried on, it consists only in a Knowledge of Mechanick Rules, which contribute to the Structure of different sorts of Poetry, as the Receits of good Housewives do to the making Puddings of Flower, Oranges, Plumbs or any other Ingredients.[57]

He continues by demonstrating how a cynical author can master various genres and how literary techniques can be mastered by means of simple recipes. For epic machinery, for instance, he says

> *Take of Deities, Male and Female, as many as you can use. Separate them into two equal parts and keep*

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[56] George Cheyne, *The English Malady* (London, 1722): n. n.

[57] Alexander Pope, "The Guardian No. 78 Wednesday, June 10 1713," *The Guardian*, ed. John Calhoun Stephens (Kentucky: Kentucky UP, 1982) 287.

> *Jupiter in the middle. Let Juno put him in a Ferment, and Venus mollifie him. Remember on all occasions to make use of Volatile Mercury. If you have need of Devils, draw them out of Milton's Paradise, and extract your Spirits from Tasso.*[58]

This is remarkably similar to Mandeville's recipe for *Typhon* where he claims that the reader 'thought to/ Find Deities, like Plumbs in Pudding'. However, rather than mocking such usage as Pope does, Mandeville uses food and cookery to demonstrate the proper diet of morality needed for a healthy life. By choosing food and digestion, he places man's physical nature in relief, reiterating its importance in the formation of any human society. In *Typhon* food is the most powerful motivating force for the poem's action. The giants only begin to cause trouble after they have dined on 'a Dish/ of sucking Whales'. Until they are roused by Typhon, their leader, they are in the process of digesting this:

> They stuff'd and swore 'twas nicely drest:
> So belly full, and heart at rest:
> Their Guts well lined with dainty Diet
> The Sons of each sat mighty quiet.[59]

The game of ninepins they begin soon after is simply to while away time before the punch. When their game finally disturbs the gods the reader finds that they to are

> lockt up in their Dining-Room,
> where most of 'em, who lookt too deep in
> The Bottle, are at present sleeping[60]

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[58] Pope, *The Guardian* 289.

[59] Mandeville, *Typhon* 6.

When Mercury is dispatched to warn the giants to behave properly he finds he must stop for some '*Adam*'s Ale' with the Muses before he is sufficiently fortified for the task. When he arrives at the giant's dwelling he finds, yet again, that they are about to begin another enormous feast. In this society where physical desires are so obviously the mainspring of all activity, Mandeville reminds us of 'The Numerous Society of F--ls' - the societies for the reformation of manners - who want to suppress the very physical desires which bond society together. Typhon, he claims, lives in

> An Age, that spoil'd by Peace and Plenty,
> Had no Reformers, under Banners.
> Of holy Thirst-encountering Manners...
> Those Champions of Sobriety,
> That watch to keep the World adry;
> Whose Drummers teach one day in seven,
> That the tap-too's the March of Heaven.
> I say 'twas in such wicked time,
> When quenching thirst was thought no Crime.[61]

These people are, according to Mandeville, refusing to recognize the vital role that human physical desires and passions play in the formation and smooth running of a society. In *Typhon* the constant stress on the physical as the mainspring of all actions and, indeed, the highly evocative physical descriptions, are used to press home an argument which is not in the original French version by Scarron.

> For Man grows worse and worse; you flatter
> You' self, and cry they will grow better;

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[60] Mandeville, *Typhon* 14.

[61] Mandeville, *Typhon* 5-6.

> And so they will, in Understanding;
> But as far as any other mending,
> You'll find, they'll do that ev'ry hour,
> As small Beer that begins to sowr.[62]

Given this, Mandeville argues, it is necessary to recognize the physical dimension of human nature and to regulate them rather than ignoring or suppressing them. This conclusion is presented as a moral for the truncated tale of the war between the Gods and Giants, and it is, of course, expressed through the metaphor of cookery,

> A Moral, teaching Cooks to be
> Exempt from Prodigality,
> And from Impatience: (which, with ire,
> A groaning Sin is near the Fire)
> Not Glutton like to make Science
> Of Cooking, but be plain like Giants,
> Who'll often broyl y o'er their Chats,
> Fat Oxen, as our Weavers Sprats.[63]

This moral is made more immediate for the reader as Mandeville makes it clear that *Typhon* itself is a meal and that as we read the moral we are in the very act of consumption ourselves. Furthermore, the reader is digesting a text which is Mandeville's imitation and digestion of Scarron's *Typhon*. Just as *Aesop Dress'd*, then, underlined the continuous process of reinterpretation involved in reading and writing, Mandeville's *Typhon* makes the same point. There is, however, an added dimension in *Typhon* as Mandeville begins to explore the links

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[62] Mandeville, *Typhon* 24.

[63] Mandeville, *Typhon* 36-37.

between food, the stomach and the production of discourse. As food and drink alter the passions and thoughts when they are consumed, they must therefore influence a human being's use of language and its contents. An obvious example in *Typhon* is that of Mercury while visiting the Muses. After he has consumed the '*Adam*'s Ale' given to him by Polymnia, the drink

> suddenly
> Fill'd him with so much Poetry...
> He talk'd like unshav'd *Bedlamite*[64]

Not only does the drink alter his behaviour and speech but is implied that the action of his brain is similar to that of alcohol:

> And, as small Wines, beyond their strength
> By foolish Vintner work'd, at length
> Turns flat, so he, who in his fit
> Had prodigally spent his Wit,
> Was, as his weary brain grew cool,
> Turn'd from a Mad-man to a Fool.[65]

This description, and Jupiter's remarks that human 'mending' is like 'small Beer that begins to sowr' both appear less frivolous when placed in the context of the early eighteenth-century debates on digestion. According to the physiology of Sylvius the stomach and the brain were intimately linked by the process of digestion, fermentation and the production of the animal spirits. In the *History of Muscle Physiology* Eyvind Bastholm explains this physiological system:

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[64] Mandeville, *Typhon* 33-34.

[65] Mandeville, *Typhon* 34-35.

> In his physiology Sylvius attaches no importance to the solid parts, whereas the blood occupies a central position; everything depends upon the fluids and the chemical processes taking place in them. He calls these processes fermentation and ascribes them to a triumvirate of fermentative fluids: acid and saliva, pancreatic juice and alkaline bile...
>
> Under the influence of the fluid triumvirate and the evolving of various fermentation processes the ingested food in the gastro-intestinal tract is transformed into blood. During this fermentation a gas develops...The final digestive product, chyle, which, in addition to salt, oil and spirit, acidus, contains spiritus volatilis...is carried via the thoracic duct to the right heart where it comes into connexion with calor innatus. Under the influence of the latter and of the bile an effervescence of the blood takes place; but this is regulated by a nitrous substance conveyed to the blood with the respirated air. Of the blood carried to the brain and not used for its nutrition is distilled a spiritus vitalis which...is conducted to the various organs and muscles. But whereas to the iatrophysicists this spiritus vitalis may fairly be compared with a fluid of physical character, to Sylvius it was first and foremost a chemical product which he compared with spirits of wine.[66]

This physiological approach was still in vogue by 1703 when Richard Wellington published an anonymous translation of Michael Ettmüller's works entitled *Etmullerus Abridg'd*.[67] In the first section of book two on the animal spirits Ettmüller claims that

> When the Spirits are corrupted, they ressemble rectify'd

[66] Eyvind Bastholm, *History of Muscle Physiology* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1950) 200-01.

[67] Michael Ettmüller, *Etmullerus Abridg'd* (London, 1703).

> Spirit of Wine, and may suffer Depravation by mixing with foreign Spirits, or becoming phlegmatic, and degenerating from their volatil Subtilty, or by engaging in irregular motions.[68]

He goes on to assert that,

> there is an admirable Sympathy betwixt the brain and the Bowels, especially the Stomac. An ungrateful Imagination disturbs the Stomac, and Vomiting and Giddiness do equally give rise to one another. The Disorders of the Stomac and lower Belly have a visible Influence upon the Fancy, as in the case of Hysteric and Hypochondriac Fits, and the ridiculous Appetites of Women.[69]

In Mandeville's world of gods, giants and men this physiology operates to an exaggerated level, particularly in his imitation of Scarron's speech of Bacchus in 'Chant II' of the *Gigantomachie*. In the French version Bacchus argues in favour of the diet of men, claiming that their wine surpasses the nectar of the gods:

> If, Monsieur, the gods,
> because they are not given to drinking wine,
> are thought stupid by men -
> who, more discerning than ourselves,
> give themselves heart
> with this agreable liquor -
> Let us indeed leave aside ambrosia
> like a badly chosen meat
> and give ourselves over to hams. [70]

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[68] Etmüller, 428.

[69] Etmüller, 429.

[70] Paul Scarron, "Le Typhon, ou La Gigantomachie, Poëme Burlesque de Scarron," *Oeuvres* 8 vols. (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970) 5: 444-45. 'Si monsieur le peuple divin,/Faute de s'adonner au vin,/Ne passe pour sot chez les hommes,/Qui, bien

Mandeville's imitation of this speech expands Scarron's original twenty-six lines to forty eight and, as one of the 'Four Messes', was only published in 1712 as part of *Wishes to a Godson.*[71] The newly expanded speech broadens the emphasis on wine and the human diet, listing favourite types - '*Champian*...Old *Cahors*, *Pontack*, *Obrian*,/ Or New *Murgan*...*Burgundy*,/ *Coutou*, *Mourin*, or *Vin d'aie*' - and depicting a society awash with the virtues of fermentation,

> They've Hundred Wines, as many Dishes,
> Contriv'd to make 'em drink like Fishes;
> 'Twould do one good to hear a Glutton,
> Extol the worth of Legs of Mutton;
> Rehearse what peck in a Sir-Loin is,
> Or, a Physician prove, how Wine is,
> 'Spight Opium, Ambre-gris, or Borrage,
> Th'only Specifick to breed Courage;
> They whet their Stomachs with Champain,
> Then fill 'em to be dry again.[72]

Mandeville's expansion of Scarron's lines imitates the expansive movement of fermentation and the speech itself, presented as a 'Mess' to be served up 'hot and hot' will presumably have a sound dietary, fermentative effect on the reader who consumes it. The emphasis on wines and Bacchus also had contemporary relevance

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plus fins que nous ne sommes,/Savent bien se donner du coeur/Par cette agréable liqueur./Quittons, quittons là l'ambroisie,/Comme une viande mal choisie/Et nous adonnons aux jambons,/Qui sont si savoureux et bons.'

[71] Bernard Mandeville, *Wishes to a Godson, with other Miscellany Poems* (London, 1712) 26-29.

[72] Mandeville, *Wishes to a Godson* 27.

for the doctor interested in the question of imitation and medical theory. In a chapter of *The Practice of Physick* called 'Of the Sources of Theory and Practice', Giorgio Baglivi writes,

> 'Tis an ancient Proverb, That the Drinkers of Water cannot entertain the same Sentiments with those who drink Wine. And indeed it hits the Physicians nicely, they being now divided into such various and opposite Sects: For we may say of 'em what Sir *Francis Bacon* applies to the Philosophers, that many of 'em, both Ancient and Modern, have swill'd down a raw Sort of Liquor, such as Water, which either sprung naturally from their own Conceptions, or was pump'd up, like Water out of a Well, by Logick. So that 'tis no Wonder if their Sentiments are vastly different from those of *Hippocrates* and his Followers, who drank and transmitted to Posterity a Liquor drawn from an infinite Number of the Grapes of Observations, and those gather'd in Bunches in due Season, and in time of Maturity, squees'd in a Press, purg'd and clarified.[73]

This gathering and digestion of observations is a form of imitation which, properly done, will mix, concoct and ferment in the brain to produce a sensible medical idea. Baglivi goes further, however, by adding a series of metaphors which highlight digestion and imitation in the making of hypotheses:

> The Ant gathers and applies its whole Collection to use: Just so do the Empiricks, who hunt up and down for Experiments, and those neither confirmed by repeated Observation, nor weigh'd in the Balance of clear Reason; and soon after make use of them without Distinction. The Spider spins all its Threads out of its own Body, without gathering Materials from abroad; and the same is the Practice of the speculative Physicians, who may

[73] Giorgio Baglivi, *The Practice of Physick* (London, 1700) 112-13.

> be justly call'd sophistical. But the industrious Bee behaves itself better than the rest, it gathers indigested Honey from the Flowers, and then digests and ripens it in the little Cells of its Viscera; and, in fine, works upon it with great Toil and Labour, 'till 'tis work'd into the highest Degree of Perfection. Now, in our Profession, we want that sort of Physicians which imitates the Bee: For some of them treat Nature only by way of Abstraction, till they come to the potential and shapeless Matter; others again insisting too much upon Particulars subject to their Senses, but not examin'd by Reason, are sometimes so perplex'd with the Confusion of things that they contemn some things as beneath their Regard; and others they dread, as being too difficult, and beyond their reach.[74]

This metaphor was given its most famous expression at the time by Swift who, in his *Battle of the Books* (1704), relates the fable of the Spider and the Bee. He chooses to tell it just as the struggle between the Ancients and the Moderns is reaching a crisis, and he notes that

> While Things were in this Ferment: Discord grew extremely high, hot Words pass'd on both sides, and ill blood was plentifully bred.[75]

The dispute is temporarily halted while the Spider explains his way of life and attacks that of the Bee, saying

> Your Livelihood is an universal Plunder upon Nature; a Freeholder over Fields and Gardens; and for the sake of Stealing, will rob a Nettle as readily as a Violet. Whereas I am a domestick Animal, furnisht with a Native

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[74] Baglivi, 129-30.

[75] Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels and other Writings* ed. Louis A. Landa (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1976) 364.

> Stock within my self. This large Castle (to shew my Improvements in the Mathematicks) is all built with my own Hands, and the Materials extracted altogether out of my own Person.[76]

The Bee defends himself as follows,

> I visit, indeed, all the Flowers and Blossoms of the Field and the Garden, but whatever I collect from thence, enriches my self, without the least Injury to their Beauty, their Smell, or their Taste. Now for you and your Skill in Architecture, and other Mathematicks, I have little to say...You boast, indeed, of being obliged to no other Creature, but of drawing, and spinning out all from your self; That is to say, if we may judge of the Liquor in the vessel by what issues out, You possess a good plentiful Store of Dirt and Poison in your Breast...So that in short, the Question comes all to this; Whether is the nobler Being of the two, That which by a lazy Contemplation of four Inches round; by an over-weening Pride, which feeding and engendering on it self, turns all into Excrement and Venom; producing nothing at all, but Fly-bane and a Cobweb: Or That, which, by an universal Range, with long Search, much Study, true Judgement, and Distinction of Things, brings home Honey and Wax.[77]

Swift is not only mounting a defence of the Senecan image of the Bee as digestor and imitator but he is also attacking the foundation of the Cartesian scientific method. In the first section of the *Discourse on Method* Descartes had praised mathematics in terms similar to that of the Spider,

> I especially delighted in mathematics, because of the

[76] Swift, 366.

[77] Swift, 366-67.

> certainty and self-evidence of its reasonings; but I did not yet discern its real use; thinking that it only suberved the mechanical arts, I was surprised that on such firm and solid foundations nothing more exalted had been built. The moral treatises of the ancient pagans, on the other hand, I compared to proud and magnificent palaces built only on sand and mud.[78]

Just as the Spider only uses materials extracted from his own person, so too, Descartes relies solely on his own self as the foundation for his method:

> as soon as my age allowed me to pass from under the control of my instructors, I entirely abandoned the study of letters, and resolved not to seek after any science but what might be found within myself or in the great book of the world...But after spending some years thus in study of the book of the world, and in trying to gain experience, there came a day when I resolved to make my studies within myself.[79]

Descartes also affirms that this exploration of the self and the search to distinguish 'truth from falsehood' will be presented 'only as a history, or, if you like, a fable, in which there may perhaps be found, besides some examples that may be imitated, many others that it will be well not to follow'.[80]

When Mandeville produced *The Grumbling Hive*, then, in 1705, it was appearing in a context where bees, science and imitation were already familiar as a locus of debate. By choosing bees as the subject of his fable Mandeville places the poem at the intersection

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[78] Descartes, *Discourse on the Method* 11.

[79] Descartes, *Discourse on the Method* 12-14.

[80] Descartes, *Discourse on the Method* 7-9.

of the debates between the ancients and moderns, the Cartesians and anti-Cartesians and even the Whig and Tory. The ubiquity of the apian metaphor in literature also allows Mandeville to allude to a diverse range of writers from Virgil to Swift, creating a layered, resonating poem that is impossible to categorize. In his 1714 Preface to 'The Grumbling Hive' Mandeville remarks on the slippery nature of his creation saying

> The following Fable, in which what I have said is set forth at large was printed above eight Years ago in a Six-penny Pamphlet call'd *The Grumbling Hive; or Knaves turn'd Honest*; and being soon after Pyrated, cry'd about the Streets in a Half-penny Sheet...I do not dignify these few loose Lines with the Name of Poem, that I would have the Reader expect any Poetry in them, but barely because they are Rhime, and I am in reallity puzled what name to give them; for they are neither Heroick nor Pastoral, Satyr, Burlesque nôt Heroi-comick; to be a Tale they want Probability, and the whole is rather too long for a Fable. All I can say of them is, that they are a Story in Dogrel, which without the least design of being witty, I have endeavour'd to do in as easy and familiar a Manner as I was able: The Reader shall be welcome to call them what he pleases.[81]

Again he displays his facility for casual confusion and his constant strategy of sowing uncertainty in the reader of the text that is to follow such prefaces. There are echoes of the preface to *Aesop Dress'd* in his attempt to achieve 'as easy and familiar a Manner as I was able' and, as in that preface, the reader is left with a text that appears to be part of an uncertain tradition.

The poem itself does nothing to allay the reader's confusion and

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[81] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 4-5.

anxieties. The opening line creates expectations of an apian society which will provide a model for human government:

> A Spacious Hive well stock'd with Bees,
> That lived in Luxury and Ease:[82]

The tradition is venerable and generally consisted in presenting the bees as a virtuous, hardworking society. In a comprehensive analysis of the bee analogy William J. Farrell begins by pointing out the high standing of this metaphor.

> The comparison itself is as old as it is commonplace. It can be found in the Bible, as well as in Aristotle, Cicero, Virgil, Seneca, Columella, Pliny, and Aelian among the classical writers. St. Ambrose develops it in his *Hexaemeron*. Isodore of Seville preserves it in his encyclopedic *Etymologies*. In the high Middle Ages, it becomes part of the lore of the popular bestiaries. Though not a topic in the original Greek *Physiologus*, the exemplary bee is a common subject in the later ones of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[83]

Farrell continues to trace it through the Renaissance, up to Hobbes in the seventeenth century, pointing out that Mandeville had studied Hobbes in Leiden. Mandeville, however, turns the entire tradition upside down. In his 'Grumbling Hive' the bees are bonded together by vice, forming a prosperous and necessarily corrupt society. Hypocritically they complain about the rampant corruption and are subsequently granted honesty by Jove. As a result, the hive

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[82] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 17.

[83] William J. Farrell, "The Role of Mandeville's Bee Analogy in 'The Grumbling Hive'," *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 25 (1985): 511-12.

declines, falls prey to outside attacks and the much reduced swarm finally 'flew into a hollow Tree,/Blest with Content and Honesty'.[84] This inversion questions the role of the fable and the reader's act of interpretation. Fables generally provide moral lessons and the poem's moral offers advice to be imitated. But Mandeville's bees, reminding readers of the equally famous metaphor of bee as imitater and digestor, questions the whole notion of imitation.

Descartes had confidently presented his *Discourse on Method* as a fable in which some parts could be imitated and pointing out that some parts should be avoided. As Dalia Judovitz has argued, however, Descartes discovered that paradoxically he needed to express the 'true' method in a 'false' discourse.[85] This intimate link between fiction and the new scientific method was something which later Cartesians constantly sought to suppress. Fiction could be dangerously deceptive as Descartes pointed out in the same work that he claimed as a fable:

> fables make one imagine various events as possible when they are not; and the most faithful historians, even if they do not alter or exaggerate the importance of matters to make them more readable, at any rate almost always leave out the meaner and less striking circumstances of the events; consequently, the remainder has a false appearance, and those who govern their conduct by examples drawn from history are liable to fall into the extravagances of the paladins of romance and conceive designs beyond their powers.[86]

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[84] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 35.

[85] Dalia Judovitz, *Subjectivity and Representation in Descartes: The Origins of Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988).

Mandeville's fable certainly does not omit the 'basest and least illustrious circumstances' but it does use fiction to parody the true scientific method. The description of the hive at the beginning of the poem adopts the objective tone of scientific speculation only to propose the ridiculous:

> These Insects lived like Men, and all
> Our Actions they perform'd in small:
> They did whatever's done in Town,
> And what belongs to Sword, or Gown:
> Tho'th'Artful Works, by nimble Slight
> Of minute Limbs, 'scaped Human Sight;
> Yet we've no Engines, Labourers,
> Ships, Castles, Arms, Artificers,
> Craft, Science, Shop, or Instrument;
> But they had an Equivalent:
> Which, since their Language is unknown,
> Must be call'd, as we do our own.
> As grant, that among other Things
> They wanted Dice, yet they had Kings;
> And those had Guards; from whence we may
> Justly conclude, they had some play;
> Unless a Regiment be shown
> Of Soldiers, that make use of none.[87]

Mandeville's use of the bee analogy here can be illuminated by an examination of one of his earlier Latin works. In *De Operationibus Brutorum* he developed a bee analogy when defending Descartes against Hobbes among others. Discussing the history of the debate on animal functions, Mandeville claims that

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[86] Descartes, *Discourse on the Method* 11.

[87] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 18.

> those words 'king', 'attendants', 'polity', and 'warfare' are merely fictions of men. Because, seeing those insects function as generally among mankind a king, attendants, etc. are moved to do, they gave such names to these little animals on account of that similarity: names which are, in fact, no more suited to bees than to the wooden pieces used in a game of chess. [88]

Here, Mandeville argues from a Cartesian position, pointing out the error of confusing man with other animals or insects and attacking the 'fictions of men'. By repeating such fictions himself in 'The Grumbling Hive', Mandeville repudiates his Cartesianism and embraces the paradoxical qualities of fables and literature. This repudiation was already implicit in his decision to translate a selection of LaFontaine's fables. LaFontaine had engaged in the philosophical disputes surrounding the Cartesian idea of beast as machine. His fables, by linking man and animal, gave credence to the 'fictions' which the followers of Descartes sought to destroy. In his 'Discours à Madame de la Sablière' he asked

> Has it yet come your way?
> Now these modern thinkers say
> The animal is a machine,
> Behaving, not by choice, but driven by springs,
> Without feeling or soul, but a material thing...
> That's how Descartes conducts his argument,
> Descartes, that mortal who might once have been
> Some pagan god...[89]

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[88] Mandeville, *De Brutorum Operationibus* A2v. 'Potissima argumenta...nulla certe.'

[89] LaFontaine, *LaFontaine: 100 Fables*, 266-69. 'En avez-vous ou non/ Ouï parler? ce mortel dont on eût fait un dieu/Chez les païens...'

Rejecting this extreme position LaFontaine goes on to elaborate an Epicurean view of animals, influenced by Bernier's *Abrégé de la philosophie de Gassendi*:

> I would attribute to the animal
> A power of reasoning, not of our own kind
> And yet far from mechanical,
> A particle of matter so refined
> Its definition might as well tax the mind, a
> quintessential atom, distilled light
> More swiftly mobile and more bright
> Than fire itself...[90]

For LaFontaine, then, animals possessed some sort of reason, feeling, and soul. Mandeville, going further, stresses that man is only an advanced animal but no higher than an animal because he is dominated by physical passions. Just as in the fables of *Aesop Dress'd* the poem's syntax conspires to blend man and animal in the same sentence. Remarking that the bees were dissatisfied with their prosperous society, for instance, Mandeville writes

> How vain is Mortal Happiness!
> Had they but known the Bounds of Bliss;
> And, that Perfection here below
> Is more, than Gods can well bestow,
> The grumbling Brutes had been content
> With Ministers and Government.[91]

These 'Brutes' are mortal, and adjective that immediately suggests human values and this is again reinforced by the use of 'Ministers

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[90] LaFontaine, *LaFontaine: 100 Fables*, 278-79. 'J'attribuerais à l'animal...Je ne sais quoi plus vif et plus mobile encor/Que le feu...'; François Bernier, *Abrégé de la philosophie de Mr. Gassendi* (Paris, 1675).

[91] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 26.

and Government'. The constant juxtaposition of human and animal actions and adjectives forces the reader to confront the brute, animal dimensions of man, as Mandeville himself makes clear in his 1714 'Introduction' to the poem,

> *As for my part, without any Compliment to the Courteous Reader, or my self, I believe Man (besides Skin, Flesh, Bones, &c, that are obvious to the Eye) to be a Compound of various Passions, that all of them, as they are provoked and come uppermost, govern him by turns, whether he will or no. To shew, that these Qualifications, which we all pretend to be asham'd of, are the great support of a flourishing Society, has been the subject of the foregoing Poem.*[92]

It is because man refuses to recognize this physical dimension of his nature that he misunderstands the forces that bind together a prosperous society. In the 'Moral' of 'The Grumbling Hive' Mandeville makes it clear that

> *Fools only strive*
> *To make a Great an honest Hive.*
> *T'enjoy the World's Conveniencies,*
> *Be famed in War, yet live in Ease*
> *Without great Vices, is a vain*
> Eutopia *seated in the Brain.*
> *Fraud, Luxury, and Pride must live*
> *Whilst we the Benefits receive.*[93]

Punning on 'vain' Mandeville here highlights the role of human pride which elevates man's reason while suppressing any recognition of his animal nature. By rhyming 'vain' with 'brain' the seat of the

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[92] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 39-40.

[93] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 36.

'Eutopia' is further shown to be a fiction. The choice of 'Eu-topia' draws the reader into yet another pun. More, in his *Utopia*, first used 'Eu-topia' - a 'happy-place' as a pun on 'U-topia', 'no-place'.[94] Paradoxically, it is the grumbling and discontent hive that is the 'happy' and prosperous place.

In the final sections of the 'Moral' Mandeville goes on to outline the social choices for man, developing his argument in a series of metaphors which exploits both Locke and Virgil:

> *Hunger's a dreadful Plague, no doubt,*
> *Yet who digests or thrives without?*
> *Do we not owe the Growth of Wine*
> *To the dry shabby crooked Vine?*
> *Which, whilst its Shutes neglected stood,*
> *Choak'd other Plants, and ran to Wood;*
> *But blest us with its Noble Fruit;*
> *As soon as it was tied, and cut;*
> *So Vice is beneficial found,*
> *When it's by Justice lopt, and bound;*
> *Nay, where the People would be great,*
> *As necessary to the State*
> *As Hunger is to make 'em eat.*
> *Bare Vertue can't make Nations live*
> *In Splendour; they, that would revive*
> *A Golden Age, must be as free,*
> *For Acorns, as for Honesty.*[95]

There are distinct echoes of Virgil's *Georgics II* in this passage, recalling the advice on pruning vines,

> When they are just beginning to grow up,
> Their leaves still fresh, be gentle to the young;
> And when the spring is racing merrily

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[94] Thomas More, *Utopia* (Louvain, 1516).

[95] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 36-37.

Unbridled through the air do not as yet
Submit it to the cold steel, but cull the leaves
Selectively...
Later, when they are quite grown up...
Then amputate their branches (earlier
They cannot bear the knife), then exercise
Hard discipline and curb the straggling branches.

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Twice in the year the shade
Threatens the vines, twice weeds and undergrowth
Sprawl over the ground, both causing heavy labour.
'Praise large estates but cultivate a small one.'
Again, there's cutting of rough butcher's broom
In the woods and rushes on the banks of rivers,
And the wild willow-bed demands attention.
At last the vines are bound, their trees at last
Release the pruning-knife, the last vine-dresser
Bursts into song to tell his rows are finished.
Yet still you must harass the earth and stir the dust
And fear Jove's downpour for your ripening grapes.[96]

Virgil makes it clear that this process takes place in the Iron Age. He ends *Georgics II* with a comparison of the simple peasant life and the vicious, corrupt life of the city, finally offering a libation to Bacchus and invoking the Golden Age:

This life was led on earth by Golden Saturn,
When none had ever heard the trumpet blown
Or heard the sword-blade clanking on the anvil.[97]

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[96] Virgil, *The Georgics* trans. L. P. Wilkinson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982) 88-90. 'Ac dum prima novis adolescit frondibus actas...et iam maturis metuendus Iuppiter uvis.'

[97] Virgil, *Georgics* 94.

Mandeville, too, offers a glimpse of the Golden Age - available to those 'as free,/ For Acorns, as for Honesty'. It is control of the appetites which could lead to a less corrupt society if man was first willing to recognize and accept the necessity of those appetites and then willing to acknowledge that they cannot be expunged from human nature. F. B. Kaye has already pointed out that the final sections of 'The Grumbling Hive' allude to a passage in Locke's *Essay concerning Human Understanding.*[98] In an 'Idea of Power' (Bk. II, Ch. XXI, pt. 34) Locke states that

> When a man is perfectly content with the state he is in - which is when he is perfectly without any uneasiness - what industry, what action, what will is there left, but to continue in it? Of this every man's observation will satisfy him. And thus we see our all-wise Maker, suitably to our constitution and frame, and knowing what it is that determines the will, has put into man the uneasiness of hunger and thirst, and other natural desires, that return at their seasons to move and determine their wills, for the preservation of themselves, and the continuation of their species[99]

In English society in 1705 this had a topical application. Just as in *Typhon*, Mandeville is countering the rising activities of the Societies for the Reformation of Manners. There was, however, a more specific issue at stake in 1705 - the accusations of fraud levelled at Marlborough by the Tories. In an article on Bernard Mandeville for the 9th edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* William Minto suggested that *The Grumbling Hive: or, Knaves*

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[98] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 34-35.

[99] John Locke, *The Works of John Locke* 10 vols. (London, 1823) 1: 255-56.

Turn'd Honest (1705) was published primarily as a Whig tract in defence of the Duke of Marlborough, although he advanced no evidence to support this claim.[100] Later, in 1924, F. B. Kaye records the publication date of the poem as April 2 1705 in his edition of *The Fable of The Bees*, but makes no mention of its possible political context. Furthermore, he cites the first criticism of Mandeville's *Fable* as appearing in 1724, thus tempting later critics to conclude that *The Grumbling Hive* attracted no significant attention in 1705.[101] Strong evidence for Minto's claim, however, can be found in the 'tract of morality' towards the end of *Queen Zarah* pt, II, published in the same year as Mandeville's poem.[102]

By 1705 the Duchess of Marlborough had persuaded her husband to accept the support of the Whig Junto in order to continue the war against France. The Tories, deserted and deeply opposed to the war, launched a fierce propaganda attack on Whig power-mongering and corruption. *Queen Zarah* was part of this wave of Tory invective and it used the techniques of the French roman à clef to attack Sarah Churchill in particular. The first volume of the novel was published by August 1705 and focused on the rise to power of the Marlboroughs. The second volume appeared by November in the same year and concentrated its attack on Sarah Churchill's ambition and greed in the reign of Queen Anne.

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100 William Minto, "Bernard Mandeville," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 9th ed. 1875-89. Minto's suggestion was readily accepted by John Mitchell in his Mandeville article for the 11th edition of the *Encyclopedia* (1910-11).

101 Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* I: xxxiv.

104 Mary Manley, *The Novels of Mary Delariviere Manley* 2 vols. ed. Patricia Koster (Gainesville: Scholar's Fascimiles and Reprints, 1971) 1: xii.

It is in an early description of the Duchess at the height of her power that the text of *Queen Zarah* first echoes *The Grumbling Hive*. Zarah (Sarah Churchill) uses her perquisites not for 'Private, but for Publick Ends' and likewise her ministers understand the proper circulation of the country's wealth,

> they say *Osbornius* and *Rosensis* were great Patriots, because they lov'd their Countries M----y; and had more Regard to a Farm in *Albigion*, than to a Kingdom in *Utopia*.[103]

Although Mandeville does not coin the phrase 'Private Vices, Public Benefits' until 1714, it is implicit in *The Grumbling Hive*. As the opening lines of the poem confirm, this paradoxical society is essentially Whig in its political structure,

> A Spacious Hive well stockt with Bees,
> That lived in Luxury and Ease...
> They were not Slaves to Tyranny,
> But Kings, that could not wrong, because
> Their Power was circumscrib'd by Laws.
> Nor rul'd by wild *Democracy*;[104]

From the Tory veiwpoint of *Queen Zarah* this description of monarchy and society can be translated into more cynical terms to read as follows,

> And tho' Zarah Reigns without a K------m, she's a happy Q----n, because she lives in luxury and at Ease, without

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[103] Manley, *Zarah* 1: 41-43.

[104] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* I: 17.

> her Subjects assistance, and in spight of their teeth[105]

Just before the novel's 'tract of morality' the position of Zarah's subjects is made more explicit in lines which again echoes *The Grumbling Hive*:

> There was no such thing as frowning or grumbling for the rest of the *Albiginois*, if they expected to obtain any thing they desired[106]

The examination of man's social nature which follows this provides an antidote to Mandeville's deliberate subversion of the traditional bee-hive analogy, and his assertion of the benefits arising from vice. Good policy in government, it is claimed, will attempt to remove or avoid 'whatever might prove hurtful, either to the Publick or Private Interest', and from the observation of 'Irrational Creatures' man may learn this policy:

> For *Bees* are a perfect Example of Policy, and that Policy of theirs is so well ranged, and so firmly established in their *Swarms*, which are their Communities, that we must absolutely conceive there is something more than Natural Instinct given to them, for the instruction of our government...And it has been judiciously decided, that Religion is the Principle and Foundation of Policy...So that the *Bees*, Which never go out of their Hives, according to Tradition, without first crossing their Legs, and kissing them, by an Instinct as it were of Religion, shew us what we ought to do before we undertake any business[107]

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[105] Manley, *Zarah* 1: 43.

[106] Manley, *Zarah* 1: 95.

[107] Manley, *Zarah* 1: 100-03.

The bees then, are not only restored to their traditional role within the argument for man as a social animal, but are also furnished with a quaint apian instinct for religion. When we have perceived this the bees can teach us that

> Men ought to employ themselves not merely for their own Interest, but their Friends; Labour for their Country, and be Industrious for the Good and Peace of the Commonwealth[108]

The attention paid to Mandeville's poem in *Queen Zarah* helps to situate it more definitely within the political context of the time. It does not, however, limit the poem's attack to specific party themes or eliminate the paradoxical qualities inherent in it. It was perhaps these very qualities which singled out *The Grumbling Hive* for such sustained examination in *Queen Zarah.* Proof that the poem continued to strike political nerves came in 1738, with the publication of Gay's second volume of fables. Fables X, 'The Degenerate Bees', was dedicated 'To the Reverend Dr. Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's' and it begins as an encomium on Swift's courageous honesty under the regime of Walpole. Gay then goes on to present the fable of a hive corrupted by one bee, obviously Walpole:

> A Bee, of cunning, not of parts,
> Luxurious, negligent of arts,
> Rapacious, arrogant and vain,
> Greedy of Pow'r, but more of gain,
> Corruption sow'd throughout the hive.
> By Petty rogues the great ones thrive...

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[108] Manley, *Zarah* 1: 103-04.

> The swarm forgot the common toil,
> To share the gleaning of his spoil.[109]

Although the corrupt bee is Walpole, Gay makes it plain that he is merely a player in the larger ideology of 'The Grumbling Hive'. Mandeville's vision is then opposed by 'A stubborn Bee among the swarm' (Swift), who attempts to rehabilitate the apian metaphor:

> Shall luxury corrupt the hive,
> And none against the torrent strive?
> Exert the honour of your race;
> He builds his rise on your disgrace.
> 'Tis industry our state maintains:
> 'Twas honest toil and honest gains
> That rais'd our sires to pow'r and fame.
> Be virtuous; save yourselves from shame:
> Know, that in selfish ends pursuing,
> You scramble for the public ruin.[110]

Mandeville had become the touchstone for the ideology of corruption although his later elaborations of 'The Grumbling Hive' were to offer a much more sophisticated argument than many of his critics would acknowledge.

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[109] John Gay, *Poetry and Prose* 2 vols. ed. Vinton A. Dearling (Oxford: Clarendon UP, 1974) 2: 415.

[110] Gay, 416.

Chapter Three: The Art of Wheedling

In 1709 Mandeville published *The Virgin Unmask'd*, a set of ten dialogues between a maiden aunt and her teenage niece.[1] The dialogues employ a diverse number of literary styles and, though the preface claims that the 'Design through the whole, is to let young Ladies know whatever is dreadful in Marriage', the conversation touches on a wide variety of subjects, ranging from the position of women in society to an assessment of Louis XIV's reign. The broad scope of the book is confirmed by its full title - *The Virgin Unmask'd: or, Female Dialogues Betwixt an Elderly Maiden Lady and her Niece, On several Diverting Discourses On Love, Marriage, Memoirs and Morals etc Of the Times.* Encapsulating much of the text's discursive strategy, this both presents itself in disguise, masked as the title of a pornographic work and, in claiming to be 'Female Dialogues...On several Diverting Discourses', it points to its disguised aim of examining the problems of reading and representation.

More specifically, the text aims to explore questions of representation in relation to women and their position in society. Woman's role in English society had been a matter of intense debate in the late seventeenth century, fuelled by the new freedoms women gained during the civil war and given a fresh impetus by the Glorious Revolution. As the links between absolute monarchy and divine right were dissolved the structure of patriarchy was also

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1 Bernard Mandeville, *The Virgin Unmask'd* (London, 1709).

weakened. The traditional links between the sovereign's relationship with his subjects and the husband's role within the family came under a new scrutiny. Church leaders found it increasingly difficult to justify women's obedience to a husband when they abandoned the principle of non-resistance themselves in opposing James II. Facing the problem of defining a woman's place in marriage Englishmen increasingly found themselves confronting many of the unforeseen but inevitable consequences of the Glorious Revolution and its transformation of society.

For Englishwomen the possibilities were double-edged. By the close of the seventeenth century there were hopeful signs of feminine liberation and there was a growing body of printed material debating that situation. This period, however, also marks the rapid development of pornography and the interweaving of a new network of restraints designed to isolate middle-class women and confine them to a smothering domesticity. Areas of employment such as midwifery which were traditionally dominated by women were increasingly taken over by men. At the same time, marriage, which was still grounded on financial considerations, became more difficult as there was a growing surplus of women in the population.[2]

The enforced idleness of eighteenth-century women did, however, provide time for reading and education. The new intellectual movements of rationalism and empiricism emphasized the power of the mind distinct from the influence of the body,

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[2] Laurence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (London: Weidenf eld and Nicolson, 1977) 380-86.

thereby freeing women from many of the biologically-based prejudices against their desire to study. Furthermore, the Cartesian methods of introspection, meditation and scepticism were ideally suited to the long periods of free time which women had to endure. One of the first ways in which intellectual communication became open to women was through epistolary correspondence with a leading man of ideas. Ruth Perry cites many examples of the often vital contributions made to intellectual debates by women in this way, including such figures as Elizabeth, Princess of Bohemia, Anna Van Shurman, Bathsua Makin, the Duchess of Newcastle, Lady Damaris Masham, Elizabeth Berkeley Burnet, and Lady Mary Chudleigh.[3] From such private correspondence several women were able to make the transition to print, most notably Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle and, later in the century, Mary Astell.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century there was a small successful group of women writers being published in England. Among the playwrights were Catherine Trotter, Mary Pix and Susannah Centlivre. Aphra Behn and Mary Manley, themselves successful dramatists, also turned to the novel and Manley in particular found a large audience when she published *Queen Zarah* and in 1709, the two volumes of her *New Atlantis*. Despite these successes women writers of the period were habitually slandered as prostitutes or eccentrics, and often suffered economic hardship because of their decision to write.

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[3] Ruth Perry, "Radical Doubt and the Liberation of Women," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 18 (1985): 465-93.

Reading among women, however, seems to have been encouraged as a way to combat boredom and there was a gradual movement in favour of female education. One of the earliest tracts in support of this was by Bathsua Makin, formerly tutor to the daughters of Charles I. In 1673 she published a prospectus for her girl's school and added *An Essay to Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen.*[4] This was followed in 1694 by Mary Astell's *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies for the Advancement of their True and Greatest Interest* proposing the institution of a 'Religious Retirement' for women where,

> Such as are willing in a more peculiar and undisturbed manner, to attend the great business they came into the world about, the service of GOD and improvement of their own Minds, may find a convenient and blissful recess from the noise and hurry of the World.[5]

This plan was criticized three years later by Daniel Defoe in *An Essay Upon Projects* where he noted that Astell's 'Monastery' had too many overtones of a Catholic convent and that the discipline she recommended would prove too much for the students.[6] His own proposal for 'An Academy of Women', however, did not differ greatly except in his suggestion for maintaining discipline which stated that in order to secure a moral atmosphere

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[4] Bathsua Makin, *An Essay to Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen in religion, Arts and Tongues* (London, 1673).

[5] Mary Astell, *An Essay to Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen, The First English Feminist* ed. Bridget Hill (Aldershot: Gower, 1986) 150.

[6] Daniel Defoe, *An Essay Upon Projects, The Earlier Life and the Chief Earlier Works of Daniel Defoe* ed. Henry Morley (London, 1899) 145-46.

> An Act of Parliament should make it a felony without Clergy for any Man to enter by Force or Fraud...or to solicit any Woman, though it were to Marry, while she was in the House.[7]

In the same year that Defoe recorded this indictment of men's attitudes to women in society, Judith Drake published *An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex In which are inserted the Characters of A Pedant, A Squire, A Beau, A Vertuoso, A Poetaster, A City-Critick, & c.*[8] Again, women's need for education is strongly argued and the general status of women in society is examined. In addition, though, there are several descriptions of recognizable male stereotypes of the time, which verge on the novelistic. It is perhaps for this reason that Drake's book has received less critical attention than the more straightforward defences of women.

Drake's prose descriptions blur the usual distinctions of that time between polemic and fiction. The seriousness of her arguments for women's rights appear to be weakened by the digressions into portraits of social types and there is a deliberate confusion of education and entertainment. Although the tracts of Astell and Defoe are more highly regarded by critics today, it should be acknowledged that *An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex* had much more in common with the mixture of didacticism and social observation in the journals that were to carry the debate on women through the eighteenth century.

These journals had their genesis in the 1690's. Stimulated by

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[7] Defoe, *Essay Upon Projects* 148.

[8] Judith Drake, *An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex* (London, 1697).

the demand for war news and the social life of the coffee-house they sprang from a newspaper tradition that had started before the civil war. Rather than deal strictly with news, the journals also contained essays, comments, reader's letters and moral or historical dissertations; most importantly they aimed themselves at the female reader.[9] In the last decade of the seventeenth century this type of journal was given its first impetus by the bookseller John Dunton. In 1690 he began the *Athenian Mercury*, a weekly sheet which answered reader's questions on various subjects. A year later he introduced fortnightly issues of the *London Mercury*, answering queries from women readers specifically and the success of the venture led to his publication of the *Ladies Mercury* in 1693 claiming to satisfy 'all the most nice and curious Questions concerning Love, Marriage, Behaviour, Dress and Humour of the Female Sex, whether Virgins, Wives, or Widows.' While the answers to these questions were often patronizing and conservative they did, however, reinforce the advance of the idea which Laurence Stone describes as the 'companionate marriage.'[10] Although financial considerations still determined the fate of most marriages, particularly in the upper end of the social scale, the *Athenian Mercury* carried queries and replies such as this,

> *Quest.* - Whether it is lawful to marry a person one cannot love, only in compliance to relations, and to get

[9] Alison Adburgham, *Women in Print: writing women and women's magazines from the Restoration to the accession of Victoria* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1972).

[10] Laurence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977) 325-404.

> an estate?
> *Ans.* - Had the question only been proposed of such as we do not actually love, it might perhaps have admitted of some limitation, since we sometimes see persons love tenderly after marriage, who could hardly endure each other's sight before...but as it is proposed, whether we may marry such as we cannot love, it is beyond all doubt, and must be answered in the negative, since such a practice would be most cruel and imprudent. Society is the main end of marriage. Love is the bond of society, without which there can neither be found in that state pleasure, or profit, or honour; he, then, or she, that marries for so base an end as profit, without any possibility or prospect of Love, is guilty of the highest brutality imaginable, and is united to a carcass without a soul[11]

These sentiments quickly set the tone for the journals that followed. In 1692 Peter Motteaux began the *Gentleman's Journal* which, though ostensibly aimed at men, included gossip, fashion news and scores for the most popular songs. By 1704 John Tipper had established *The Ladies' Diary, or The Woman's Almanack*, a yearly publication designed to educate and entertain its women readers. It contained moral tales on the dangers of love, and items of domestic interest, but it also specialized in difficult mathematical problems. The *Diary* was an immediate success and even Tipper dropped the domestic material to concentrate on mathematical problems after 1710, it was still destined to become a best-seller, being printed annually until 1840.

Besides such journals aimed at women, there was also a flood of advice books warning men and women of the dangers of marriage

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[11] John Dunton, *The Athenian Oracle Abridged* (London, 1820): 256.

and proposing the proper methods of conducting a relationship. These included Hannah Wolley's *The Gentlewoman's Companion* (1673), Nahum Tate's *A Present for the Ladies* (1693), and the most successful of the genre, *The Lady's New Year Gift: or, Advice to a Daughter* (1688) by the Marquis of Halifax.[12] *Advice to a Daughter* was reprinted constantly throughout the eighteenth century and even became popular enough on the Continent to be translated into French and Italian. Originally published when Halifax's daughter was twelve, it begins with the premise that as young women are seldom permitted to make their own choice of husband 'there remaineth nothing for them to do but to endeavour to make that easy which falleth to their lot.'[13] Halifax then lists a depressing series of characters that his daughter may marry, ranging from a drunkard to an idiot, concluding that she must 'pray for...a wise husband, one that by knowing how to be a master for that very reason will not let you feel the weight of it.'[14] The constant appeal of this book reflects, at the very least, the conservative concept of marriage that persisted throughout eighteenth-century society. It is more difficult, however, to determine whether its popularity reflected the actual conditions of marriage or merely the vain hopes of Englishmen, fathers in

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[12] Hannah Wolley, *The Gentlewoman's Companion; or, A Guide to the Female Sex* (London, 1673); Nahum Tate, *A present for the Ladies: Being an Historical Account of Several Illustrious Persons of the Female Sex* (London, 1693); George Savile, Marquis of Halifax, *The Lady's New Year Gift: or, Advice to a Daughter* (London, 1688).

[13] George Savile, Marquis of Halifax, *The Works of George Savile, Marquis of Halifax* 3 vols. ed. Mark N. Brown (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989) 2: 369.

[14] Savile, 379.

particular.

Although few would have disputed Halifax's claim that marriages can be unhappy, many argued that the wife's obedience was not the obvious solution. The vital issue was a woman's right to choose her own husband. If both partners desired the marriage, the possibility for happiness would be increased enormously, though naturally the partners must make the right choice. In *Reflections Upon Marriage* Mary Astell outlines this argument forcefully, pointing out that education and advice should be concerned with the chóosing of a suitable partner, not with accommodating an unwanted one,

> if a Woman were duly Principled and Taught to know the World, especially the true Sentiments that Men have of her, and the Traps they lay for her under so many gilded Compliments, and such a seemingly great Respect...Women would Marry more discreetly, and demean themselves better in a Married State than some people say they do.
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> were her Reason excited and prepar'd to consider the Sophistry of those Temptations which wou'd perswade her from her Duty; and were she put in a way to know that it is both her Wisdom and Interest to Observe it; She would then duly examine and weigh all the Circumstances, the Good and Evil of a Married State, and not be surpriz'd with unforeseen Inconveniences...This would shew her what Human Nature is, as well as what it *ought* to be, and teach her not only what she may justly expect, but what she must be Content with...Superiors don't rightly understand their own interest when they attempt to put out their Subjects Eyes to keep them Obedient. A Blind Obedience is what a Rational Creature shou'd never Pay, nor wou'd such an one receive it did he rightly understand its Nature.[15]

[15] Astell, *The First English Feminist* 127-28.

The basis of all the early feminist demands are contained in this passage. The right to choose a husband, the right to abandon passive obedience, the need for education of women and the right to be recognised as a 'Rational' member of society.

It is within this general context that Mandeville situates *The Virgin Unmask'd*. Acknowledging the changing role of women in England the text explores the possibilities and problems of making choices in that society. Focusing on the proliferation of books and periodicals that accompanied the shift in women's roles, Mandeville displays the range of images used to represent women in the early eighteenth century. For Antonia, the younger woman who is about to enter society, it becomes vital to perceive the advantages and dangers inherent in each image, and to choose the right one. The role of Lucinda, her aunt, is to educate her on the nature of representation and perception, so that this choice can be made. The question of seeing permeates the text of *The Virgin Unmask'd* at every level. In naming the older woman Lucinda, for example, Mandeville may be alluding to Mary Astell's remarks on the dangers women are exposed to from 'Superiors' who 'attempt to put out their Subjects Eyes to keep them Obedient.'[16] The name Lucinda, or Lucy, was traditionally linked with St. Lucy of Syracuse, a famous virgin-martyr and patron saint of those with eye problems. In one version of her history, she was blinded by Diocletian for being a Christian, sworn to God and virginity. In another, she put out her own eyes because their great beauty had encouraged the

[16] Astell, *The First English Feminist* 128.

desires of a young man.[17] In *The Virgin Unmask'd* similar images of eyes and virginity surround Antonia and Leonora, one of the young women in Lucinda's cautionary tales. Accused of dressing immodestly in the first dialogue, Antonia breaks down in tears before her aunt exclaiming,

> You shall think as you please, Aunt...I don't Cry, because I am Conscious of any Crime; it is my Wrong'd Innocence that bleeds through my Eyes.[18]

Reconciled later in the second dialogue, she agrees to her aunt's challenge to name an acquaintance who would speak well of marriage, and declares that

> if I don't produce more Married Women, that shall speak in Praise of it in this small Town, than there are Old Maids in all the County, I'll be bound to keep my Maidenhead till I wear Spectacles.[19]

Blind to the realities of married life, Antonia is also blind to the logic of her own rhetoric as she confusedly implies that there are vast quantities of old maids in the county - a telling comment on the conditions of marriage at that time. Mandeville see this lack of understanding of rhetoric as dangerous in a society where young women's behaviour is increasingly influenced by a flood of texts. By narrating several 'diverting' tales Lucinda aims to improve Antonia's understanding of rhetoric, marriage and deception. In the

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[17] David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978) 250-51.

[18] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 14.

[19] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 32.

final tale, Leonora can perceive the effect she has on others,

> She never had yet been in a Man's Company, but more or less, in either his Countenence, Speech, or Actions, she had observ'd, that the piercing Lustre of her Eyes made some Impression upon his Soul.[20]

This knowledge leads to anguish later when she concludes that her beauty has injured Mincio,

> her Sorrow was unspeakable, to think, that to a Friend of his Value, her Eyes should give so desperate a Wound, which yet her Vertue would not suffer her to cure.[21]

The problems of vision and blindness, then, permeate the text at every level. Antonia, unable to see or read properly is guided by Lucinda who attempts to reveal the dangers and the necessities of rhetoric.

In *The Virgin Unmask'd*, however, Lucinda must explain not only the rhetoric of language but also the social codes of gestures, and fashion. All of these are explained to Antonia, and to the reader of Mandeville's text, by means of the mask. In Mandeville's universe where everyone is motivated by self-love, the mask is the medium of all communication, and so it becomes essential for Antonia to understand its implications. For the reader in England at the time, too, it was important to consider the phenomenon of masks as London society had recently embraced the masquerade, and the opera. The increasing popularity of these spectacles also led to a

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[24] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 208.

[21] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 212.

counter-movement, fuelled by the Societies for the Reformation of Manners, which attached the dissimulation and deception spread by the theatre and the masquerade. The most famous attack on the theatre was Jeremy Collier's *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* in 1698 and this was followed by others such as *An Essay on Plays and Masquerades*, and *The Conduct of the Stage Considered.*[22] All of these deplore the promiscuity encouraged by theatres and masking, detecting a subversion of class hierarchies and the traditional social roles in the saturnalian atmosphere of the assembly rooms. Even deeper, perhaps, was a mistrust of the general series of changes across the entire spectrum of social life. As the development of a consumer society and a leisure industry began to grow, founded on the invisible support of an expanding credit system, so too did the belief that signs had become unstable and could no longer be trusted to honestly represent the world.

One of the most obvious subversions in the masquerade was that of the sartorial code. Clothes, which normally fixed a person's position in society, were now disguised, often completely obscured by the masks and wide, flowing 'dominos', the balloon-like masquerade cloaks that hid clothes, identity, and gender. In his excellent examination of this phenomenon in *Masquerade and Civilisation* Terry Castle points out that

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[22] Jeremy Collier, *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage* (London, 1698); *An Essay on Plays and Masquerades* (London, 1724); *The Conduct of the Stage Consider'd, with short Remarks upon the Original and Pernicious Consequences of Masquerades* (London, 1721).

> Disguise, when unveiled, is perceived as profoundly anti-social; witness the persistent association between the mask and criminality, travesty and treachery. The cheek of the masquerade was that it both sanctioned such deceit and suffused it with a kind of euphoria. Blatantly, joyfully, masquerades subverted the myth of the legible body by sending false sartorial messages. The masquerade was a reveling in duplicity, a collective experiment - comical and arabesque - in semantic betrayal and violation of the sartorial contract.[23]

As Castle later points out, the masquerade not only subverted the 'myth of the legible body' but by doing so, it highlighted the existence of conventional sartorial codes and therefore reinforced their presence outside the assembly room. For Mandeville, all sartorial codes were, if not always deceptive, then at least motivated by self-interest. Antonia , however, is unaware of the communicative role of fashion and therefore cannot control the image she presents or realize the consequences of transgressing its codes. In the opening dialogue of *The Virgin Unmask'd* Lucinda immediately attacks her niece's style of dress and forces her to confront the relativity of fashion and the relationship between her clothes, body and passion. Lucinda's attacks are witty, sarcastic, and blunt - designed to shock Antonia out of her everyday complacency,

> *Luc*: Here, Niece, take my Handkerchief, prithee now, if you can find nothing else to cover your Nakedness: If you know what a Fulsome Sight it was, I am sure you would not go so bare: I cann't abide your Naked Breasts heaving

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[27] Terry Castle, *Masquerade and Civilisation: The Carnivalesque in eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction* (London: Methuen, 1986) 57.

> up and down; it makes me Sick to see it.[24]

Antonia's glib reply that she is lightly dressed because of the heat gives Lucinda her chance to outline the direct links between clothes and the passions,

> *Luc*: Harkee, *Antonia*, these little pretences won't pass upon your Aunt; tin't the Heat of the Weather 'tis the Heat of your Blood, your Wantonness, and Lascivious Thoughts...
> *Ant*: I don't invent the Fashions; but indeed I don't love to be pointed at for affecting singularity. I Dress my self as I see other young Gentlewomen do; my Stays are not cut lower than other peoples.
> *Luc*: Don't make so many Excuses, Dear Child; what signifies the Fashion? What signifies your Stays? Yesterday 'twas as hot again as it is now, then all the while we were in the Garden, rather than to have your White Skin Tann'd you could endure your Handkerchief, and your Mask, both.[25]

Antonia is forced to see that her clothes display the movement of her passions, revealing her desires. On a wider level she is also faced with the discovery that fashions are designed according to the passions and desires of others. Mandeville's decision to focus on Antonia's stays was probably influenced by the controversy surrounding the change in their design around this period. In a survey of the fashions of the early eighteenth century Iris Brooke describes this change,

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[24] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 1.

[25] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 2.

> About 1710 there was a drastic change in the shape of the stays. It was probably due to the hoops lifting the skirt directly away from the waist that the new style was introduced; for instead of coming down well over the stomach in a V point and elongating the waistline, the point finished a couple of inches below the waist and the shoulder straps became a mere string. Such stays were cut almost straight in front and moulded to support the breasts but force them upward; also the back was lowered. Their solidity was such that any movement was rather startlingly revealing.[26]

Such dramatic changes in fashion were a quite recent innovation at this time. Neil McKendrick notes in 'The Consumer Revolution' that in pre-industrial Europe 'the purchase of a garment, or the cloth for a garment, remained a luxury the common people could only afford a few times in their lives'.[27] By 1700, however, England was experiencing the beginning of a revolution in fashion. Increased spending-power among the lower classes and a fledgling retail trade joined to create new fashions, usually in imitation of the middle and higher classes. Although changes in fashion were still slow enough in 1709 -10 to create the controversy over stays which Mandeville exploits in *The Virgin Unmask'd* they soon became more frequent. In 1723 he records that 'Experience has taught us, that these Modes seldom last above Ten or Twelve Years, and a Man of Threescore must have observ'd five of six Revolutions of 'em at least'.[28] Neil McKendrick notes that by the 1770's

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[26] Iris Brooke, *Dress and Undress: The Restoration and Eighteenth Century* (London: Methuen, 1958): 63.

[27] John Brewer, Neil McKendrick, and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Europa Publications, 1982): 31.

'contemporary observers found the pace of change so accelerated that they regarded fashions as annual, and among the super-fashionable as monthly'.[29]

Confronted with such rapid changes in style it was difficult to resist slavish imitation and a loss of any individual image. Although this problem was still in its infancy, Mandeville seems to have perceived it implications more quickly than others at this time. In *The Virgin Unmask'd* he attempts to outline the necessity of each person carefully monitoring the image they present to society. Having already drawn attention to Antonia's mask, an acknowledged sign of prostitution in this period, Lucinda goes on to mock the oranges used by her niece as a breast-knot,

> *Luc*:... What you do is with a Wicked Design; you shew your Breasts; because you think them attractive and ensnaring: They cann't be call'd small indeed, but then they are nothing to your High and Broad Chest. See how filthily and boldly they stand pouting out, and bid defiance to your Stays; one would not think that any Thing made of Flesh could be so hard and ugly, as they are: Nay, you are all of a Piece; do but mind once; with how much Immodesty that Orange, and them Leaves, are stuck o'th'Top of your Stays.
>
> Would you have me believe, they are there to hide any Thing, or to smell to? Poor Girl! They are not placed there on so foolish an Errand; your Aunt knows better; their Business there is to gather the Rays of the Eye, on that White Vale there betwixt your Breasts, and fix it on your Bosom; and as a Spot in a White Cloth draws the sight to it whether we will or no; so that Orange is set there to engage the Standers-by, and for fear it might be

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[28] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 328.

[29] Brewer, 51.

> over-look'd, Points at the Shew, with which you are so generously pleas'd, at the Expence of your Modesty, to treat the Publick. And you that love to be Witty, *Antonia*, shall I tell you in a Word how it looks in regard to your skin?
> *Ant*: What you please, Aunt.
> *Luc*: For all the World like a ☞ to an Advertisement of what you would dispose of.[30]

By allowing her passions to determine the clothes she wears Antonia has strayed into promiscuity without being aware of the power games that dominate such activity. Lucinda implies that her image will transform her into an object, a piece of merchandise passed among men, but Antonia, still only seeing it as fun replies that

> *Ant*:...if it be as you say, 'tis hop'd I shan't be long without a Chapman; and depend upon it; if I can meet with a good on to my Mind, I'll part with the Cargoe.[31]

Seeing only what her desires and passions will permit, Antonia perceives herself as attractive, and therefore bound to inspire a noble love. In a final attempt to shatter the illusion, Lucinda explains that

> *Luc*: ...it is a Notion among Merchants, that when Goods have been much expos'd and blown upon, and the Owners seem very desirous to be rid of them, Creditable Dealers won't meddle with them, unless they can get them for a song.[32]

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30 Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 9-12.

31 Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 12.

32 Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 12.

The persistent use of economic terms finally wears the young girl down. Far from the romance she believes exists, she is forced to confront men on economic terms first and perhaps never advance beyond such marketplace conditions. Certainly, Lucinda asserts, she will never escape economic slavery while dressed to signify subservience,

> *Luc*: I am apt to believe, that rather than keep the Commodity upon your Hands, you'd give Trust by Retail.
> *Ant*: Pray Aunt speak plain, and tell me, you believe I'm a Common Whore.
> *Luc*: Could the Courteous *Antonia* be ever so Cruel? No sure; you have no denying Face, Child: And when People are so obliging in shewing their Goods, who would not think, but that any one might have a Sample for asking? - How! In Tears, Niece! Melting with Remorse? Do ye plead guilty?[33]

This brutal success draws the first dialogue to a close. Lucinda has shattered all illusions of mutual love beyond the reach of self-interest and power. The reader, like Antonia, is prepared now to embark on an education in how to read the world, its inhabitants, their fashions and their literatures. By inverting Antonia's beliefs on fashion, attractiveness, and marriage, Lucinda forces her niece, and the reader, to adopt a ethnographic outlook. Where previously certain behaviour or particular ways of dressing had appeared natural, now they are discovered to be part of a man-made system. Antonia's view of her body as attractive is inverted, for example,

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[33] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 13-14.

to reveal its potential value in society as an object or a commodity in a commercial market. This method of radically altering perception is an integral feature of the masquerade process as Castle explains

> Besides highlighting structure, rituals of inversion can demonstrate the fictionality of classification systems, exposing them as man-made rather than natural or divine. When members of a social group "turn round and confront the categories on which their whole surrounding culture has been built up," Mary Douglas writes, they can then "recognise them for the fictive, man-made, arbitrary creations that they are." I suggested earlier that masquerade disguise enforced a radical awareness of the artificiality of the sartorial code; it also exposed those larger ideological distinctions to which clothing so blandly referred. The masquerade had powers of demystification. Its assaults on hierarchy made cultural distinctions visible - as fashioned assessments of human experience.[34]

This process of demystification is vital if Antonia is to comprehend the shifting, deceptive realms of the mask and its place in society. As a culture grows increasingly sophisticated the strategies used to bind it together become so familiar they eventually appear to be permanent, natural and inevitable. Only by revealing them to be transient and relative, to be man-made, can the networks of power they support be understood. This is of obvious importance to Antonia, an adolescent woman on the threshold of society and marriage. On another level, however, it is also of importance to society as a whole, particularly during the

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[34] Castle, 88.

period in which Mandeville wrote *The Virgin Unmask'd.* Life in England was undergoing radical changes in every area, quite often replacing the conventional and stable social signs with invisible or liquid concepts such as credit and seasonal fashions. If society was to come to terms with these changes then it first had to acknowledge the fictive and relative quality of those elements that were quickly disappearing.

David Napier, an anthropologist, has examined the response of cultures to such change, with particular reference to the importance of masks in their role as a medium between points of social transformation. He remarks that

> Throughout the anthropological literature, masks appear in conjunction with categorical change. They occur in connection with rites of passage and curative ceremonies such as exorcisms. They are, as well, frequently associated with funerary rites and death. Though they occur in a multitude of instances, their predominance during transitional periods attests to their appropriateness in the context of formal change. The special efficacy of masks in transformation results, perhaps, not only from their ability to address the ambiguities of point of view, but also their capacity to elaborate what is paradoxical about appearances and perceptions in the context of a changing viewpoint. Masks, that is, testify to an awareness of the ambiguities of appearance and to a tendency toward paradox characteristic of transitional states. They provide a medium for exploring formal boundaries and a means of investigating the problems that appearances pose in the experience of change.[35]

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[35] David Napier, *Masks, Transformations, and Paradox* (Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1986) xxiii-iv.

Within the specific context of *The Virgin Unmask'd* Mandeville deploys the mask as a means by which the reader, through Lucinda and Antonia, can consider the role of women in society. As readers enter into an imaginative identification with the characters in the dialogues, they become immersed in the ambivalence which surrounded women in the masquerade. As the assembly rooms were crowded with both prostitutes and respectable ladies the mysogynistic critics of such events generally concluded that all the women who attended a masquerade were promiscuous and lascivious. In *The Virgin Unmask'd*, Antonia and Lucinda hover between respectability and lewdness, and in textual terms, between the genteel advice book and pornography.

The ambivalence and the paradoxical quality of the text are further increased by the deliberate confusion of gender implicit in Mandeville's transvestite performance. The reader is aware that the author is a man impersonating two women in conversation. Yet, through the 'suspension of disbelief' that accompanies all reading to some degree, readers generally attempt to suppress this knowledge and to visualize two female protagonists. Aware of this, Mandeville constantly forces the reader to return to questions of gender and sexuality. Lucinda and Antonia argue constantly throughout the first dialogue about identifying signs of gender, unable to agree on any features that distinguish the sexes until Lucinda settles the question:

> *Luc*: How fain now would you be witty upon Beards, and ridicule, what I said about the Distinction of Sexes, but

> you only shew you Ignorance. I deny that Beards distinguish the Sex; Beards are Hair, and for the generality, Men, when they arrive to their full Strength, are more or less hairy all over; their Face, Arms, Legs, Breast, no place is free; and, strictly speaking, Men differ from Women in every Thing; their Skin is not so plump as ours, nor the Grain of it fine; their Muscles and Sinews are more Brawny and Conspicuous than ours; we differ in the very Make of our Bodies; Men are broader in the Shoulders, than the Hips, with us it is quite contrary, but by these things our Sexes are not distinguished. I have known a Woman that had Hair between her Breasts, and some have so much about their Face, that they are forced to clip it every Week; nay, there are Women, that are constantly shaved as well as Men; therefore there can be no Obscenity in that, which is no distinguishing Character.[36]

The body, male or female, is an unreliable sign and, in effect, serves as a disguise as much as an indicator of sex. The only definite distinguishing features are the genitals, Lucinda decides, while everything else can lead to deception, confusion and ambivalence. It is paradoxical that a man, masquerading as two women should debate the question of gender identification. As the question is debated readers acknowledge the presence of the two women, but as the argument focuses more closely on gender they remember the male author. When Lucinda concludes that genitals are the only true distinguishing features of gender, readers finally must acknowledge the impossibility of dividing Lucinda and Antonia from the author as they are all absent in body. Only a perpetually ambivalent text remains.

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[36] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 5.

The readers of *The Virgin Unmask'd* must face the philosophical implications of approaching such a text. In order to read the dialogues, readers are compelled to divide themselves between Antonia and Lucinda. Always aware, however, of the mask-like quality of those characters they also watch themselves masquerading as the aunt and niece. Inevitably, the notions of the self as a unified, essential entity comes under scrutiny.

Mandeville, committed as he was to the motto 'Know thyself', has embedded this ontological question in every level of *The Virgin Unmask'd* and constantly urges the reader to consider it in relation to reading and books. In order to explore every dimension of the problem of knowing oneself, he chose adolescence as the locus of the text's main themes. The adolescent problems of Antonia are her problems in coping with a flood of new feelings and passions, accompanied by a wholly new range of bodily desires and biological changes. With such a complex range of sensations to deal with, the adolescent confronts questions of the continuity of self and of the extent to which the self is moulded by biological and social forces. In her study of female adolescence in works of literature, Katherine Dalsimer summarizes the situations facing an adolescent, saying

> This is the time when the influences of earlier experiences may be modified and even rectified: the awakenings of adolescence, and its reawakenings, permit new resolutions to old conflicts. The world expands beyond the family into which one was born and did not choose. Adolescence is a period of widened possibilities and of experimentation with alternatives, before the individual narrows the range of what is

> possible by making those commitments which will define adulthood.[37]

Dalsimer stresses the element of choice that is made available in adolescence. It is a crucial moment in the life of an individual, when an image of the self must be presented in a society which immediately reacts on the strength of that image. For a young woman, this question of choice is particularly dangerous as society attempts to limit the possibilities of women to more rigidly defined areas than men. Dalsimer concludes her study with the remark that,

> Literature has more insistently emphasized the problematic nature of the ending of adolescence, when she must confront the restrictions upon what she, as a woman, may become.[38]

In *The Virgin Unmask'd* Mandeville places the attention on the moment when Antonia must enter society and begin to make choices. Through Lucinda and her fateful tales he sets out the restrictions society will attempt to impose on the young girl. He does not, however, close the book with any firmly made decisions by Antonia, instead he leaves it as open as possible by suspending the narrative of Leonora at the crucial moment when she must choose between adultery or fidelity. Rather than a final outcome or definite ending, Mandeville attempts to record a process which is both biological and psychological. More specifically, this was the

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[37] Katherine Dalsimer, *Female Adolescence: Psychoanlytic Reflections on Works of Literature* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1986) 5.

[38] Dalsimer, 140.

process of the fermentation of the passions. The image of fermentation was frequently applied to youth at this time, describing it as a period of emotional transformation and instability. As the body tries to cope with this biological flux, Mandeville warns that adolescents must be aware of the social impact of these apparently internal activities. In the story of Aurelia, Lucinda describes this fermentation, after relating how Aurelia's husband had beaten her,

> *Ant*: Then was it not succeeded by a great Hatred against him?
> *Luc*: Not at first of all, as she told me; she remained the same, only that Folly was skimm'd off; which made me think, that in the great Fermentation of her Passions, as Love had stirr'd the up, so working through them, it made all the Froth; and Swimming a great while above the rest, was quite lost when they had done Boyling over.[39]

This idea of fermentation was not simply being used as a clever literary image, but as an attempt to comprehend the evolution of a state of mind. Later, Lucinda details the stages of this evolution, referring to Aurelia's reactions to the attacks of her husband Dorante,

> *Luc*: Had I been telling you a Romance, I would have made use of Art; I know as well as you, Niece, what should have been done according to their Rules. As soon as *Dorante* had told her his meaning, and declared himself with that Impudence, I should immediately have turn'd her Love into Hatred: But in a true Story, we must

[39] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 86.

> relate things as they happen...the first Passion it rais'd in her, was her Sorrow...The Reason why at first it produced such irregular Motions in her Brain...was, that than her Love was still mixed with the other Passions...the second Beating only made her Careful, how to prevent it for the future...the third time...the Pain made her Angry...She now made use of her Reason, Examin'd the vast extent of her former Love; and, Measuring by that, the prodigious height of his Ingratitude, Built her Hatred on a solid Foundation.[40]

Mandeville's interest in outlining such psychological progressions lies in the need to understand the passions in order to control them when necessary. For the young, a powerful image can overwhelm the senses and create havoc among the passions. It is vital, then, to teach them how to master the effects of these sense impressions, realizing, of course, that although their impact cannot be avoided, it can can be limited. In *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, John Locke had already pointed out how sensitive young people could be to external stimuli, claiming that 'The little, or almost insensible, impressions on our tender infancies, have very important and lasting consequences'.[41] In order to educate the young then, he recommends that 'of all the ways whereby children are to be instructed, and their manners formed, the plainest, easiest, and the most efficacious, is to set before their eyes the example of those things you would have them do or avoid'.[42] In the story of Aurelia, Lucinda offers a striking example of this extreme sensitivity to sense impressions in a dramatic scene of almost

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[40] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 87-88.

[41] John Locke, *The Works of John Locke* 10 vols. (London, 1823) 9: 7.

[42] Locke, 9: 70.

Freudian proportions. Adopting the first-person pronoun to heighten the narrative impact, Lucinda/Aurelia describes Dorante's drunken entry to the bedroom where both his wife and young son were sleeping:

> coming into the Room, and, finding me gone to Bed, he sets himself down in a Chair...as he was undressing himself, he calls me to him; I dared not Disobey, and would have slipt on my Gown, but he bid me come as I was; and Standing in my Shift before him; he asked something of me, which was so Lascivious, and, as I thought at that time, so disagreeable, that, tho' I strove to hide it, I could not forbear discovering the Reluctancy of my Mind...I went to Bed again, and he continued Railing, and Grumbling...In every thing he said or did, he shew'd himself Angry, and Displeased; and, as he was coming to Bed...he flung every Rag from me and left me quite Naked. My dear Boy, who was Awake...seeing this, after having heard what his Father said, made no doubt, but he was going to execute his Threatenings; and making all haste to him, before he could get into Bed, took hold of his Leg, with abundance of Tears, entreating him not to hurt his Mother. *Dorante*...Maliciously resolved to Frighten him throughly; then Staring upon him with a Stern Look, what! Sirrah, said he, would ye help your Mother against me? Come, I'll make away with *your* Mother; and immediately getting from the Boy, he ran to his Sword, and Drawing it, he came to me seemingly in a great Fury: I observ'd the Humour *Dorante* did it in, and apprehending no Danger at this time, I lay still, and said nothing to him: And the same Moment, as he was turning from me, I suppose, to see how the Boy would take it, I heard *Dorante* say, what ails the Boy? The rascal is making Mouths; and at the end of these Words, he stept into Bed, and lay down. Not understanding what *Dorante* meant, not hearing the Boy say any thing to him, I look'd up, and saw my Child in

> Fits: I did what I could to recover him but one was no sooner off, but he fell into another...About the same time that he was taken with his first Fit, they left him the Night following; but then he fell into so Violent a Fever as carried him off the Seventh Day after.[43]

Mandeville is intent on tracing the fluctuations in the passions of the characters in this scene. In particular, there is an emphasis on the way in which the movement of Dorante's passions and the visual impact of his gestures can affect the responses of his son so deeply. The exaggerated violence of this scene underlines the extreme receptivity of the young and their vulnerability to the uncertain effects of a powerful image. Again, the nature of representation is brought under scrutiny as Lucinda and Antonia dissect the narration of the episode, searching for the psychological motivation for each rhetorical decision.

> *Ant*: But in the relation of this last Accident, I wonder, she should shew so much Concern; whilst she dwell'd on the Child's Praise only, and none at all, when she came to that Part, of which she ought to have been most Sensible.
> *Luc*: I don't think that strange at all; it differs much, who the Person is, that tells the Story: She was the Mother, and knowing all what had past, as soon as she began it, nay, before she came to it, the Thoughts of that great Loss forced the Tears from her: The Rehearsal, and Description of his Endearing Temper and Actions, was only indulging her Grief; for it did nothing to the Story.
> *Ant*: Yet it has given me a greater Sense of her Loss, and the Sorrow it must have caused her.
> *Luc*: I knew that, and therefore I assumed *Aurelia's*

[43] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 95-97.

> Person, and spoke her own Words.
> *Ant*: But what I would ask, is, why she should discover so little Tenderness, when she spoke of his falling in Fits, the Fever that succeeded them, and his Death, where I would have most expected it?
> *Luc*: For the same Reason; when she was telling me the first Part, the latter was in her Mind; till she thought, I was weary of hearing so much of it.[44]

As the two women discover the progression of Aurelia's passions, Lucinda also points out how the representation of an image can be changed by adopting a mask. In this case, she has strengthened the impact of the story by adopting Aurelia's voice. This splitting of the self, however, is complicated further by Aurelia's narration of the incident. In order to narrate it, she must stand back and view herself from a distance, often seeing herself from Dorante's perspective - 'he bid me come as I was; and Standing in my Shift before him...'. For the reader of *The Virgin Unmask'd* this creates a vertiginous effect. Mandeville, disguised as Lucinda and Antonia, allows Lucinda, disguised as Aurelia, to narrate an episode in which Aurelia splits herself in two in order to describe an incident.

Through such an extensive series of masks the existence of a unitary self is questioned. Mandeville demonstrates how we must split the self in order to observe our own actions or record past events. Beyond that, the external forces of social conventions and the desires of other people are shown to have an important influence on the formation of the self. The body, too, with its biological processes can also play a part in determining the composition of the self. In order to deal with such forces

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[44] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 98.

Mandeville proposes a notion of the self which is fluid, adaptable, and beyond the confines of certainty. Questions of gender, identity and personality can be seen within the context of a network of of external social pressures and internal biological demands. Rather than a fixed notion of the self, *The Virgin Unmask'd* offers a permeable self that is capable of assimilating those images and ideas necessary to find a secure place in this network of power. This process of assimilation requires the absorption of various masks, images and ideas that are often contradictory and must be balanced against one another, in an open-ended structure that will permit further change. Within *The Virgin Unmask'd* this structure is the dialogue.

Throughout his life Mandeville was to return constantly to this form and in the works where he does not employ it, he still establishes dialectical structures by other means. The dialogue was not only the favourite literary form of Mandeville, but was also one of the most popular structures of this period. A long list of writers all wrote dialogues, including Hobbes, Boyle, Fontenelle, Shaftesbury, Berkeley, Prior, Marvell, Bunyon, Addison, Dryden, Pope, L'Estrange, Collier and Gay.[45] Generally the reasons given for the wide popularity of the dialogue was the flexibility of its form. It was praised because it was 'loose', 'free', 'easy', 'familiar' and 'plain'. It was thought of as a loose, pliable form which could accommodate a broader range of issues than others, and as a highly persuasive structure in which to debate an argument. The term

[45] Eugene R. Purpus, "The 'Plain, Easy, and Familiar Way': The Dialogue in English Literature, 1660-1725," *English Literary History* 17 (1950): 47-58.

'dialogue' could encompass a diversity of works ranging from a realistic conversation with additional background detail, to a simple question and answer list. Unlike a narrative it could exploit the dramatic qualities of a play and frequently it was difficult to distinguish a dialogue from the script of a play

For a philosophical writer such as Shaftesbury or Mandeville, the dialogue also provided a medium which could be used to explore the nature of the self and the experience of reading. Its conventional format demanded that the reader split himself into the various speakers of the text and to consider conflicting points of view, alternating between the arguments for and against a particular proposition. In *Soliloquy: Or Advice to an Author* Shaftesbury claims that the human soul is composed of contraries, vacillating between good and evil.[46] The dialogue, he argues, forces the reader to recognise the true nature of the soul and, for that reason, was the favourite form of the ancients,

> The philosophical writings to which our poet [Horace] in his *Art of Poetry* refers, were in themselves a kind of poetry, like the mimes, or personated pieces of early times, before philosophy was in vogue, and when as yet dramatised imitation was scarce formed; or at least, in many parts, not brought to due perfection. They were pieces which, besides their force of style and hidden numbers, carried a sort of action and imitation, the same as the epic and and dramatic kinds. They were either real dialogues, or recitals of such personated discourses; where the persons themselves had their

[46] Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, *Soliloquy: or, Advice to an Author* (London, 1710).

> characters preserved throughout, their manners, humours, and distinct turns of temper and understanding maintained, according to the most exact poetical truth. 'Twas not enough that these pieces treated fundamentally of moral, and in consequence pointed out real characters and manners; they exhibited them alive, and set the countenances and complexions of men plainly in view. And by this means they not only taught us to know others, but, what was principal and of highest virtue in them, they taught us to know ourselves.[47]

Shaftesbury stresses the dramatic nature of the dialogue, its 'action and imitation', sensing that the reader's immersion in 'personated discourses' involved the splitting of the self in order to 'know others'. From the vantage point of the other, a reader can then view himself more clearly. Mandeville, too, relies on this dramatic quality in the dialogue. Discussing the form in later years, when he is publishing *Fable* II, he names Plato and Cicero as the most famous authors of antiquity and claims that

> The Reason why **Plato** preferr'd Dialogues to any other manner of Writing, he said, was, that Things thereby might look, as if they were acted, rather than told: The same was afterwards given by **Cicero** in the same Words, rendered into his own Language.[48]

This emphasis on acting naturally involves the process of imitation described by Shaftesbury. The dialogue imitates the features of a conversation between two or more people in real life, and when it is read, the reader adopts the masks of the speakers, and becomes

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[47] Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristics*, 2 vols. ed. John M. Robertson (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964) 1: 127-28.

[48] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 2: 8.

involved in the process of imitation. For Mandeville, this activity of imitation goes even further. When he claims that Plato wanted his dialogues to look 'as if they were acted, rather than told', he adds that 'The same was afterwards given by **Cicero** in the same Words, rendered into his own Language'.[49] Not only does the dialogue imitate conversation, but writers, within texts, imitate previous texts. In *The Virgin Unmask'd* Mandeville attempts to explore this process of imitation and to examine its uses within a social and political system.

Beneath the surface of Mandeville's text there lies a wide spectrum of sub-texts. In the closing lines of the preface he offers the reader an entry to this dimension of the book when he defends the use of women as speakers in the dialogues,

> I expect to be Censured for letting Women talk of Politicks, but first mind, how little *Antonia* says to the Matter, and then examine *Lucinda's* Character. *Erasmus* in his *Ichthuophagia* treats of more Abstruse Matters, than I do in any Part of the Dialogues; and yet the Persons in all Probability are less Accomplish'd than mine; for one is a Butcher, and the other a Fishmonger.[50]

The reference to Erasmus' *Ichthuophagia* directs the reader to *The Colloquies*, a large collection of dialogues which Erasmus began to publish in 1518., and continued adding to until 1533. *The Colloquies* were originally conceived as a vechicle to provide sets of phrases and idioms for the teaching of Latin to young students.

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[49] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 2: 8.

[50] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* n.n.

As the work progressed, however, it developed into sets of dialogues which, though they were models of eloquence, were also aimed at adults. In seventeenth-century Holland the work was still in use in schools and Mandeville, attending the Erasmian Grammar School, certainly must have studied them in the classroom. By citing the *Ichthuophagia* in the preface to *The Virgin Unmask'd* he immediately sets the Erasmian text in dialogue with the advice books which also serve as sub-texts to the work.

The *Ichthuophagia* or *The Fish Diet*, was first printed in the 1526 edition of *The Colloquies* and it is the longest of all the dialogues in the collection. Designed as a conversation between a butcher and a fishmonger on the merits of fasting and the Church's prohibition of the eating of meat on Fridays, the dialogue quickly moves into theological discussions. Erasmus debates his favourite topic, that of the internal Christian spirit as contrasted with the 'Judaism' of placing emphasis on external law and empty ceremony. There are many similarities between *The Fish Diet* and *The Virgin Unmask'd*. Erasmus discusses the French king, Francis I, and the war with the Holy Roman Empire, while Mandeville dwells on the character of Louis XIV and the alliance of Holland and England against France. Both *The Fish Diet* and *The Virgin Unmask'd* deal with problems of interpretation. Just as Lucinda and Antonia debate questions of narrative strategies, so the butcher and fishmonger debate the ordinances of the church and their relation to the Gospel. Both texts also examine the nature of custom, pointing up the relativity of laws and customary behaviour.

In each text fashions and laws are shown to be designed for a particular situation, and rather than being fixed and sacred, they are adaptable to changing circumstances. Another similarity is the appearance of the author in his own text. In *The Fish Diet* Erasmus appears as Eros, 'an old man in his sixties...so averse to eating fish and so impatient about fasting that he has never attempted it without danger to his life'.[51] In the preface to *The Virgin Unmask'd* Mandeville also appears, as himself, but in an exaggerated form as a tetchy, Grub-Street hack at war with his publishers,

> I told him, that what he had Bought was all I had to say to the Reader, as for my Part; and if he had any Thing to add for himself, he was at Liberty to do as he thought fit...the Book was his own, if he would not Sell it, he might stop Ovens with it if he pleased[52]

Again, however, there is a dialogue established which highlights differences as well as similarities. When Erasmus discusses France, it is in the hope that peace may be found soon but in Mandeville's discussion of Louis XIV there is clear Whig support for continuance of the war. The relationship set up between *The Fish Diet* and *The Virgin Unmask'd* must have also raised another question for debate in the reader's mind in 1709. As *The Colloquies* were widely read in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a reader of Mandeville's preface must have

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[51] Erasmus, *The Colloquies of Erasmus,* trans. Craig R, Thompson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965) 349.

[52] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* n.n.

been surprised at the reference to *The Fish Diet*, when the design of the book was stated as 'to let young Ladies know whatever is dreadful in Marriage'.[53] Erasmus had added five dialogues on love and marriage in the 1523 edition of *The Colloquies* and added another three in later editions.[54] Furthermore, all but one of these dialogues included women speakers. Mandeville, of course, refers to *The Fish Diet* as part of an apology for allowing women to talk of politics, but if marriage is the book's subject why should politics enter it? If politics must enter it, however, then why not introduce a male speaker? It is the absence of any reference to the Erasmian marriage colloquies which stimulates a series of questions about the political aspects of marriage and the feminine voice, questions at the heart of *The Virgin Unmask'd.*

However, if any reference to the marriage colloquies is absent this does not mean that their influence has been negligible. In the *Ciceronianus*, Erasmus allows one of his characters, Bulephorus, to argue that the most successful imitation conceals any trace of the previous text.

> Did Cicero himself derive his wonderful eloquence from one single source? Didn't he rather scrutinize philosophers, historians and rhetoricians, comic, tragic, and lyric poets, Greek as well as Roman, in short, did he not from all writers of every kind assemble, fashion and bring to perfection his own characteristic and divine idiom? Didn't Cicero himself teach that the higest form

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53 Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* n.n.

54 Erasmus, Colloquies 86-87; Sister Geraldine Thompson, *Under Pretext of Praise: Satiric Mode in Erasmus' Fiction* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973) 111-12.

> of art was the concealment of art?...And so, if we want to be successful in our imitation of Cicero, the first thing must be to conceal our imitation of Cicero.[55]

It is within such a context that the marriage colloquies can be said to permeate the text of *The Virgin Unmask'd.* The reference to *The Fish Diet,* though, does give a clue to the assimilation of the colloquies as Mandeville is not only intent on assimilation but on teaching others to observe and learn the process. Lucinda, attempting to educate Antonia in a world of multiplying images and texts, relies on imitation as a method for coping with the transformation of adolescence and the creation of a self-image. As Mandeville thinks of the passions as a ferment and believes in the power of sense impressions and the written word to excite that ferment, he quite easily accepts the classical simile of imitation as digestion. This simile first found powerful expression in Seneca's *Epistles.* In letter 84 'On Gathering Ideas' Seneca says men should gather ideas as bees cull nectar from flowers, transforming it into honey.

> We also, I say, ought to copy these bees, and sift whatever we have gathered from a varied course of reading...we should so blend those several flavours into one delicious compound that, even though it betrays its origins, yet it nevertheless is clearly a different thing from that whence it came. This is what we see nature doing in our own bodies without any labour on our part; the food we have eaten, as long as it retains its original quality and floats in our stomachs as an undiluted mass, is a burden; but it passes into tissue and blood only when

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[55] Erasmus, *The Ciceronian* 368.

> it has been changed from its original form...Let us loyally welcome such foods and make them our own, so that something that is one may be formed out of many elements.[56]

This digestive image became one of the major strands of imitation theory in the Renaissance and it was the foundation of Erasmus' ideas on imitation in the *Ciceronianus*. Debating the best way in which to imitate Cicero and other ancient authors, Bulephorus echoes Senecan images,

> All that you have devoured in a long course of varied reading must be thoroughly digested and by the action of thought incorporated into your deepest mental processes, not your memory or word-list. Then your mind, fattened on fodder of all kinds, will generate out of its own resources not a speech redolent of this or that flower or leaf or herb, but one redolent of your personality, your sensitivities, your feelings, and the reader will hail not snippets abstracted from Cicero, but the manifestions of a mind packed with every kind of knowledge.[57]

This is precisely what Lucinda hopes to teach Antonia. The young woman, finding images entering the ferment of passions, must learn to digest them assimilating the texts she will need to create her own self. Erasmus lays great stress on the consequences of creating a text or a self-image from the fragments of others. All the 'snippets' must be properly assimilated to impress 'the reader' who 'will hail...the manifestions of a mind'. By creating a new self-

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[56] Seneca, *Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales,* 3 vols. trans. Richard M. Gummere (London: William Heinemann, 1930) 2: 278-81.

[57] Erasmus, *The Ciceronian* 402.

image, the imitator creates a text to be read by the world. Erasmus makes it clear that he is not only referring to books but to the physical body as well. In a further explanation of imitation as digestion, Bulephorus states that,

> A certain amount of care for one's personal appearance is no shame to a man and also improves the natural looks, for example, washing, controlling the features and, above all, concern for good health. If you should take it into your head to try to make your face look like someone who doesn't resemble you at all, you will waste your time...On the other hand, if you observe how attractive a person is made by an unassuming cheerfulness of expression, modesty of eye, a set of the whole face...it will be no cheap deception to model your face on the pattern of his. For you yourself can ensure that your mind corresponds to the face.[58]

This aspect of physical imitation is constantly pursued by Lucinda in *The Virgin Unmask'd*, as she examines the slavish imitation being fostered by a nascent fashion industry. The role of the body in imitation is also a vital element in one genre of the sub-texts to Mandeville's work. In the early pornographic texts which began to be imported to England and in the early English translations, the importance of body language was emphasized. Surprisingly these sources for the later, more reductive pornography often were satires on rhetoric where an older woman would explain to a girl the arts of persuasion necessary in a corrupt world. Two of the books which most influenced the beginnings of pornography in England in the late seventeenth century focused closely on the

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[58] Erasmus, *The Ciceronian* 442.

question of rhetoric, *Aretino's Dialogues* by Pietro Aretino and *The Whore's Rhetorick*, a translation of Ferrante Pallavicino's *La Retorica delle Puttane.*[59]

In *Aretino's Dialogues* a young woman called Antonia is educated by the sexual anecdotes of an older woman, Nanna. The satire in the dialogues is directed mainly at the clergy who are shown to be corrupt and lascivious, and the sexual descriptions are more reminiscent of medieval poems like 'Land of Cockaygne' than of later pornography. Throughout the dialogues, however, the two women quarrel constantly over the terms each uses to describe the events, discovering hidden motives in euphemisms for example.

In *The Whore's Rhetorick* the question of rhetoric is, as the title suggests, more pervasive. In the 'Epistle to the Reader' which introduces the dialogues, the author dwells on the nature of his style, discussing his early training in 'the Sophistical part of Logick' at university and even invoking the Senecan bee metaphor to describe his methods,

> A judicious writer will ever follow the example of Bees, and not of Frogs; he will like an expert Chymist, so order the most abject, the most indisposed matter, as to extract thence both pleasure and advantage.[60]

In the dialogues themselves the older woman, Mother Creswell,

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[59] Pietro Aretino, *The Ragionamenti* (Venice, 1534); *The Whore's Rhetorick, Calculated to the Meridian of London and Conformed to the Rules of Art. In Two Dialogues* (London, 1683); Ferrante Pallavicino, *La Rettorica delle Puttane* (Cambrai, 1642).

[60] *The Whore's Rhetorick* 18.

always insists on the rhetorical nature of prostitution when educating the younger woman, Dorothea,

> *Creswell*: You must be furnished with great variety of words...to enable you to entertain your Lovers on all subjects: still complying in the choice of matter with their various tempers. This part of Rhetorick is necessary to fit you on all occasions, to use ambiguous expressions, and for ornament sometimes, synonymous terms; to equivocate, vary and double, according to your fancy and the present circumstances: all which do extreamly enhaunce the value of your words: and add a particular gallantry to your discourse. A Whore's language is the lascivious dialect, is ever to please the present lover; who always coming to feed on the same dish, ought to enjoy the variety of discourse, in such sort that he be not cloyed with his fare, and by consequence she lose the efficacy and main end of her eloquence.[61]

As in the Erasmian theory of imitation this digestion and assimilation of vocabularies is not merely limited to language but also extends to physical gestures. Mother Creswell advises that 'A Whore indeed ought to have skill in Physiognomies. Reading Men is the great work of her life'.[62] In actions too, 'the Female Orator must strive to make the best use and advantage of substantial Flesh and Blood, solid Kisses, and sensible Touches'.[63] In short the Female Orator 'must be expert at these parts of corporal eloquence'.[64] As for the mask, Mother Creswell's pronouncement

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[61] *The Whore's Rhetorick* 48-49.

[62] *The Whore's Rhetorick* 105.

[63] *The Whore's Rhetorick* 125.

[64] *The Whore's Rhetorick* 142.

on its significance recalls Lucinda's interpretation in the first dialogue of *The Virgin Unmask'd*,

> A Mask is the Whore's Label, the Flag she hangs out, to signifie to all Men, That the Lady in Masquerade is to be sold to him that make the first generous offer.[65]

Both this sartorial rhetoric and Mother Creswell's corporeal eloquence have been digested and absorbed into Mandeville's text. A good example of this absorption is found in Lucinda's tale of Leonora, a young woman who, while out hunting, temporarily loses control of her corporeal eloquence with tragic results:

> the Duke of B———, with five or six of his Attendance, was riding a Foot-pace towards a Gentleman's Seat...he saw thorough a By-Lane, a Horse coming full Speed, and upon it a very young Gentlewoman...the Horse being stopt in his Career, flew aside, leapt the Hedge, and left his Rider behind him...When she was yet on Horseback, the Fright she was in, had made her look as pale as Death; but being conscious, that in the Fall she had discover'd one of her Legs, at least as far as the Knee, and finding herself alone, among so many Men, when she look'd up, her Blushes had painted her Cheeks with a lovely red. The Violence of the Motion had made her lose all her Head-clothes, and her long coal-black Hair, of which she had abundance, playing loosely about, almost cover'd her Back and Shoulders. Nothing could be whiter than her Skin, and her Eyes had something in them so sprightly and engaging that the Duke, beholding her in this careless Posture, thought he had never seen any Thing so charming before.[66]

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[65] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 158.

[66] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 184-85.

The Duke, smitten by Leonora's beauty, conspires with her father and grandmother to separate her permanently from her lover Cleander in order that he may then seduce her. The hunting episode not only illustrates the importance of controlling the 'lascivious dialect' of the body but also serves as an example of the ability of Mandeville's text to digest other elements and make them its own. In this case the episode has been absorbed from the jokes and gossip that were circulating in the society of that time. A similar hunting story is facetiously inserted in a brief private letter by Mary Wortley Montagu in 1713, where she claims that 'Mr. Sterne, the titular Bishop, was last week marry'd to a very pritty Woman, Mrs. Bateman, whom he fell in Love with for falling backward from her Horse, Leaping a ditch, where she display'd all her Charms, which he found irresistible'.[67] By 1715 the incident is found in print again, this time in Anthony Hamilton's *Memoirs of the Count Grammont*.[68] Remarking on the Duke of York, later James II, attending a greyhound course with his wife, he describes how it was at this moment that Arabella Churchill first aroused the Duke's desires,

> The duke attended Miss Churchill, not for the sake of besieging her with soft flattering tales of love, but, on the contrary, to chide her for sitting so ill on horseback...The embarrassment and fear she was under had added to her natural paleness. In this situation, her

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[67] Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* 3 vols. ed. Robert Halsband (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965) 1: 189.

[69] Anthony Hamilton, *Memoirs of the Court of Charles the Second, by Count Grammont* (London, 1715).

> countenance had almost completed the duke's disgust, when her horse...set off in a gallop...Miss Churchill lost her seat, screamed out, and fell from her horse. A fall in so quick a pace must have been violent; and yet it proved favourable to her in every respect; for without receiving any hurt, she gave the lie to all the unfavourable suppositions that had been formed of her person, in judging from her face. She was so greatly stunned...those who first crowded around her found her rather in a negligent posture. They could hardly believe that limbs of such exquisite beauty could belong to Miss Churchill's face. After this accident, it was remarked that the duke's tenderness and affection for her increased every day.[69]

The similarities of this to Mandeville's episode are obvious but it is interesting to note how Mandeville concentrates on Leonora's face, and in particular, her eyes. While the body is seen from a comic, bawdy perspective in Hamilton's version, Leonora's body is seen in terms of signs transmitted by the passions. Furthermore, there is a didactic quality in Mandeville's version which is absent from the story of Miss Churchill. Throughout *The Virgin Unmask'd* the stories devised by Lucinda are all designed to warn Antonia of the dangers of marriage, and the need to control the passions. Generally the narrative is compressed and built around a striking and memorable image such as the death of Aurelia's son or Leonora's riding accident. When the story has ended, or even during the narration, Lucinda and Antonia comment on and interpret the various events and the methods of describing them.

This method of constructing moral tales is common to the

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[69] Anthony Hamilton, *Memoirs of the Court of Charles the Second, by Count Grammont* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1846) 282.

emblematical dialogues of Jacob Cats, and these dialogues constitute another strand in the sub-texts of *The Virgin Unmask'd.* Jacob Cats was the most famous emblematist in seventeenth century Holland. His books were immensely popular and could be found in any Dutch household, and as he was Rector of the University of Leiden for several years, it is inevitable that Mandeville knew of his works.[70] Cats is unique among emblematists, in that he constructs dialogues around the engraved picture, adding proverbs and quotations pertinent to the subject at the end of each section. Although in his prefaces he often refers to the joy of uncovering hidden meanings, his works are generally easy to comprehend. He does, however, multiply the interpretative possibilities around each emblem as much as possible, often using three or more languages and juxtaposing quotations from several different authors. In *Silenus Alcibiades* (1618) he prints three copies of each engraving, but with a different text each time to illustrate the amorous, moral, and religious meanings which can be drawn from them.[71] In 1618 he published *Maeden-Plicht*, a set of emblematic dialogues between an older woman, Anna, and a young girl, Phillis.[72] They talk of love, marriage and the dangers of the passions, and Cats makes it clear that the older woman, Anna, is also a virgin. The dialogues work through a mixture of proverbs, conversation, classical quotations, illustrations, and commentary,

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[70] E. Hulshoff Pol, "The Library," *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century,* ed. Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975): 395-460.

[71] Jacob Cats, *Silenus Alciabiades* (Middelburgh, 1618).

[72] Jacob Cats, *Maechden-plicht* (Middelburgh, 1618).

using three languages - Dutch, French and Latin (See figures 12 and 13). The use of dialogue adds a dramatic quality missing from the conventional emblems and in 1637 Thomas Heywood, recognising this element, published a translation of the work in his *Pleasant Dialogues and Drammas.*[73] Interestingly, he also included a translation of the Erasmian marriage colloquy *Courtship.* In his translation of the *Maeden-Plicht*, Heywood omits the engravings and presents the piece simply as a set of dialogues with a proverbial commentary. His translation of the 24th emblem, 'Habet venenum suum blanda oratio' reads as follows,

> *Sometimes faire words, wound worse than swords.*
> Anna: If any one unworthy seeke thy bed,
> From thy chaste house let him be banished:
> Admit him not, so much as to be jeer'd,
> Some scoft at first, have after prov'd indeer'd.
> If he have any wit at all, he'l show it,
> And prove in sundry straines to let thee know it,
> Imbracing first, strive a forc't kisse to win,
> Such kisses have to virgins fatall beene.
> So by degrees into thy brest love steales
> And wanders round, but his soft steps conceales;
> Whilst Fowlers play upon their pipes, and sing,
> Th'unwary fowle into their nets they bring.
>
> Wonder not that thou art deceived by him that speakes thee faire and flatters thee, but rather wonder how thou hast escaped from not being deceived by him.
> *Demosthenes*
>
> *Sic avidus fallax indulgit piscibus Hamus,*
> *Callida sic stultas decipit esca feras.*

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[73] Thomas Heywood, *Pleasant Dialogues and Drammas, Materialen zur Kunde des Alteren Englischen Dramas* 26 vols. ed. W. Bang (Louvain: Uystpruyst, 1903) vol. 2.

> So the deceitful hooke the fish betrayes,
> So beasts, by crafty baits, a thousand wayes.[74]

In the absence of the engraving, the main verse must take the strain of providing an image around which the quotations can react. Heywood's attempt, however, fails as he cannot find enough in the text alone to strike the imagination forcefully. Mandeville, perhaps learning from Heywood's problems, creates his own images drawing on the naturalism of the Dutch emblem engravers, Cats' love of fashion and realistic detail, and on the prose experiments of the 1700's in England. In the opening of Dialogue Eight he highlights his use of emblems by first giving the reader a fairly typical incident involving Antonia and a clumsy, pawing sailor and then by allowing Lucinda to present a more old-fashioned emblem to explain her encouragement of the sailor's advances to her niece,

> *Ant*: There is not such a wild Bear again in England, as that nasty Terpawlin; he rumples my Headcloaths, kisses and slabbers me over every moment...Last time he was here, he put his hand down my Bosom, as low as he could thrust it...
> *Luc*: Look, look, Niece; that comes very pat: Don't you see, there in the Meadow? Pray mind; look...Don't you see a Horse stand still?
> *Ant*: Yes, and a Fellow going up to it: Is there any Rariety in that?
> *Luc*: Mind how he holds the Bridle upon his Back, and how softly he creeps to him. Open the Sash: Hark, he is a whistling to him; now he take hold of him: There he claps the Bit into his Mouth. Poor Horse! he is taken indeed...This is the Horse that scamper'd about so, when we came first out of Doors.

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[74] Heywood, 218.

> *Ant*: I know it is the same that the Boys scar'd with their Hats.
> *Luc*: And can you not perceive that this is an emblem of what you spoke of? [The captain] is just like the Boys that threw their Hats at the Horse; he may frighten you, but he'll never trick you into slavery.[75]

Mandeville has even framed the emblem in the window, distancing it from the more lively conversation of Lucinda and Antonia. The emblem's theme - being tricked into slavery - could stand as a motto for *The Virgin Unmask'd* as a whole, with its persistent warnings of the dangers of rhetoric and of men's intentions.

These themes are explored fully in the sixth, seventh and eight dialogues. There Mandeville attempts to link the problems of reading and interpretation with political questions concerning national constitutions and the struggle against tyranny. Focusing specifically on France and Louis XIV Lucinda praises the French people for their fortitude in the face of such hardship. She warns Antonia not to underestimate the wealth of France because of its large numbers of poor people, pointing out that vast riches were concentrated at the higher levels of an absolute monarchy,

> *Luc*: how silly People are, that from the wretched Condition of the lowest Part of the People of *France*, conclude the Poverty of the Whole; they don't consider, that if the under Part of a Nation, where the Power is lodg'd in one, be so abjectly mean, the upper Part again is of a more towring Grandeur.[76]

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[75] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 155-57.

[76] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 167.

The money held by Louis XIV is then shown to be a powerful persuasive force,

> *Luc*: *Lewis* the XIVth has led his Money a weary Life, and his Pistoles have travell'd thro' all the Courts of *Europe.*
> *Ant*: I confess, that I have heard much of the *French* Pistoles.
> *Luc*: Yes, Niece, they have not stopt at Ministers of State, but brib'd even Monarchs themselves, to act against their Interest, and whole Nations have groan'd under the Weight of his irresistible Gold.[77]

This ubiquitous rhetoric of money is immediately compared to the force of the French language, when Antonia declares that 'our Language is as copious, our Phrase more compendious than theirs, and the best of our *English* Poets exceed the best of the *French*, both in Wit, and Strength of Expression'.[78] Lucinda, remarking that every nation thinks its own language the best, warns Antonia not to underestimate the French language any more than she should underestimate French wealth. Furthermore, she argues, it is foolish to condemn a language while absorbing so much of its influence, saying that

> one of our best Poets always spoke very much against the French, and yet took most of his Plots and Characters from them: and once, having borrow'd from a certain Tragedy of theirs, all what belongs to Judgement, or Invention, he made a very good English Play: It was acted with Applause, the Copy sold at a high Rate; and yet, in the Preface his Wit got so much the

[77] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 169-70.

[78] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 170.

> upper-hand of his good Nature, that he could not forbear railing at the Foreigner, to whom he ow'd his Success.[79]

Mandeville is probably referring to Dryden's preface to *All for Love* (1678), where he claims that

> in this nicety of manners does the excellency of French Poetry consist: their Heroes are the most civil people breathing: but their good breeding seldom extends to a word of sense: All their Wit is in their Ceremony; they want the Genius which animates our Stage...these Authors, while they are afraid to make you laugh or cry, out of pure good manners, make you sleep.[80]

Dryden goes on to argue for a more realistic approach to characterisation in drama and then presents *All for Love*, a play which borrows considerably from several French dramas, including Racine's *Berenice*.[81] The severity of Dryden's attack on the French theatre was partly due to the rising wave of anti-French diatribes, stimulated by a fear of Louis XIV and of a Popish Plot. By drawing attention to Dryden's Preface, Mandeville reveals the complicated political motivation that may be at work in any imitation. This is particularly relevant to *The Virgin Unmask'd* as Mandeville includes an example of his own imitation from a French source in Dialogue Six.

Having attacked men for their enslavement of women Lucinda

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79 Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 173.

80 John Dryden, *All for Love* ed. David M Veith (London: Edward Arnold, 1972) 15-16.

81 Jean Racine, *Bérénice* (Paris, 1670).

decides to end the sixth dialogue with a poem so that Antonia may see 'what fine Thoughts they have of us, and how they derive our inconstancy from *Eve* our Mother'.[82] The poem she chooses is an imitation in rhyming couplets of Jean-François Sarasin's 'Sonnet à Monsieur de Charleval'.[83] The poem attacks Eve as the cause of Adam and mankind's fall because

> she prov'd so frail,
> That she would listen to a Serpent's Tale,
> And rather enter with the Dev'l in Chat,
> Than be a Woman, and not be Coquet.[84]

Lucinda as usual demands that Antonia give her criticism of the work and her niece, attempting to deploy the lessons she has learned, declares

> *Ant*: I could hang the Author with all my Heart; but, according to your Rule, I must say thus of it, There is a witty Turn upon poor *Eve*; some lines are very strong, but they are as much inclin'd to be bawdy, or else the whole is writ pretty well; and I must hate the Author for striving to expose our Sex.
> *Luc*: Right: So I would have you judge of every Thing according to the Merits.[85]

Antonia's reference to hanging the author reminds the reader of the perplexing layers of masks involved in Lucinda's recital of the

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82 Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 128.

83 Jean-François Sarasin, 'Sonnet à Monsieur de Charleval," *Poesies* (Paris, 1658) 61.

84 Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 130.

85 Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 130.

imitation. Raising the question of who is the 'author' of an imitation, it effectively hangs the author of this one as Mandeville recedes behind one mask after another.

It was not by coincidence either, that the imitation was on the subject of Adam and Eve. In the seventeenth century Filmer's *Patriarcha* had argued for the divine right of absolute monarchy, deriving this right from the supposed right of Adam to rule his family in *Genesis*.[86] John Locke, advocating a constitutional monarchy in *Two Treatises on Government*, devoted all of the first treatise to a witty attack on Filmer's argument.[87] Locke's principal strategy was to question Filmer's interpretation of *Genesis* and , in effect, to dismiss Filmer's ability to read. Locke's *Treatise*, the continuing impact of Milton's *Paradise Lost* and the movement towards a secular reading of the *Book of Genesis* all stimulated a fierce debate on the role of the king and the father, within English society in the decade following the Glorious Revolution.[88] As many men sensed the new freedom that constitutional monarchy might allow women, a flood of anti-feminist satires on the Genesis story appeared, and were promptly answered by women. Mandeville's imitation plays on the reader's

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[86] Robert Filmer, *Patriarcha* (London, 1680).

[87] John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government* (London, 1690).

[88] M. M. Goldsmith, "'The Treacherous Arts of Mankind': Bernard Mandeville and Female Virtue," *History of Political Thought* 7 (1986): 93-114; Felicity A. Nussbaum, *The Brink of All We Hate: English Satires on Women 1660-1750* (Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1984); Katherine M. Rogers, *Feminism in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Urbana, 1982); Hilda L. Smith, *Reason's Disciples: Seventeenth-Century English Feminists* (Urbana, 1982); James Grantham Turner, *One Flesh: Paradisal Marriage and Sexual Relations in the Age of Milton* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).

knowledge of this satirical battle. While the source poem by Sarasin can be placed firmly within the anti-feminist satire genre, it is placed within the context of a dialogue where Lucinda attacks man's enslavement of woman, comparing it to the dangers Europe faced from Louis XIV's absolute monarchy. She assures Antonia that she admires man's good qualities, just as Louis is admitted to be a powerful king by his enemies but claims that she has an aversion to man because

> They have Enslaved our Sex: In Paradice, Man and Woman were upon an even Foot; see what they have made of us since: is not every Woman that is Married, a Slave to her Husband; I mean, if she be a good Woman, and values her Promise.[89]

The consequence of the Fall is the introduction of difference. This is not merely the superficial signs of sexual difference which Antonia and Lucinda debated in the first two dialogues, but it is a political and economic difference. Furthermore, recalling the Locke-Filmer argument, Mandeville emphasizes the way in which a nation's political constitution can affect woman's role in society. In the eighth dialogue Lucinda explains how 'that Distance between the Degrees of People...is every way less in Commonwealths, than it is in Kingdoms, and yet not so great in limited Monarchies, as it is in those that are arbitrary'.[90] Applying this to women in England, as compared to Holland, she finds that

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[89] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 127.

[90] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 165-66.

> In *Holland* Women sit in their Counting-houses, and do Business, or at least are acquainted with every thing their Husbands do. But says a Rascal here, no, my Dear, that is too much Trouble; those Butter-Boxes don't know, how to treat Ladies; Men should only study, how to give 'em Pleasure: With this he sends her to the Play-House; and when she come Home, there's an Extent out against her husband, all what they have in the World is gone, and they tear the very Rings from the Lady's Fingers.[91]

Surrounded by such statements, Mandeville's imitation of Sarasin's sonnet functions like one of Jacob Cats' emblematic images, suspended amidst a varying series of interpretations. The entire structure of the sixth dialogue is designed to comment on the *Genesis* scene. It is set in the garden, reminding the reader of both Eden and the 'Hortus Closus' [Closed Garden] imagery surrounding virginity. The virginity of the two ladies is stressed in the opening exchanges of the dialogue as Lucinda presents Antonia with a lap-dog. Her niece immediately christens the dog Diana, and then considers what dog she will sire it with. As man's injustice to woman is outlined, the Edenic quality of the garden becomes more apparent. Childbirth, a recurrent image throughout the dialogue, is caused by a man who seems more like a serpent,

> *Luc*: Is it not a Thousand pitys, to see a Young Brisk Woman, well made, and fine Limb'd? as soon as she is Poyson'd by Man, Reach, Puke, and be Sick, ten or twelve times in a Day...and after that, Swell...till, like a Frog. she is nothing else but Belly...But if Man was not a Venomous Creature, how would it be possible, that a

[91] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 128.

> Hail, Plump Girl, of a good Complexion, should in so little a time, after Conversing with him, turn thin Visaged, Pale, Yellow, and look as if she was Bewitch'd?...Are not these Signs, that the venom flies up to the Head? Does it not come up to Demonstration, that the Sting of Man comes up to that of the *Tarantula*?[92]

Instead of naming sexual intercourse as the moment of the 'Sting', Lucinda claims these symptoms occur 'after Conversing with him', conflating sex and the rhetoric of Satan in Eden.

Physical decay, another consequence of the Fall, is also emphasized but in relation to the hardships of childbirth, linking it causally with man's 'Poyson' rather than Eve's 'frailty'. Lucinda's long, vivid description of the effects of childbirth on a woman's body deliberately oppose the easy seduction of the romances Antonia prefers to read,

> *Luc*: Mind what I tell ye, *Antonia*, 'tis not a Trifle; a pain that racks, distorts, and wrings at one and the same Instant, every Nerve, nay, every Fibre. from the Crown of the Head, to the Sole of the Foot: A Torture so exquisite, and so universal, that Art nor Cruelty could ever imitate it...An unconceivable Weariness, seizes the Body all over: The Strength of Muscles and Sinews is spent; the Organs of Hearing are become so tender, that the least Noise disturbs their Brain, and the lowest Speech is Offensive; the very Eye-Strings are strained; the Sight impair'd, and nothing but Darkness can ease them: And besides, that the Stomach is weak, and for want of Spirits, unable to Digest, the whole Mass of Blood is disordered: We may well imagine; that missing so many Parts, through which of late it used to Circulate, it cannot easily again confine its self to its Ancient Limits.[93]

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92 Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 119-21.

Even when this torture has passed, the body never fully recovers from the experience,

> But if this they scape, the Skin will be Wrinkled, the little Capillary Veins, that are so Ornamental to it, must be broke in many places; the Flesh be loosened, the Ligaments relax'd, the Joynts be stiffen'd, and made unactive...the Bearing, as well as Bringing forth of Children, wasts Women, wears 'em, shakes, spoils, and destroys, the very Frame and Constitution of them.[94]

Mandeville's medical knowledge informs these descriptions but, as Lucinda remarks to Antonia, 'in knowing the World, was comprehended the understanding of ones Self'. Because of this she recommends 'the Study of *Anatomy*, and the inward Government of our Bodies'.[95] From the biology of the individual, Mandeville traces the evolution of the community, arguing that there is a very close interaction between the two.

Demonstrating this on a larger level, he broadens the metaphor of man as the Edenic serpent to review the political scene in Europe, casting Louis XIV as Satan. As the *Genesis* readings after the Glorious Revolution found a Whig constitution in Eden, so Mandeville finds one in Lucinda's garden. As the aunt and her niece play chess (an emblem of war), Lucinda situates Louis XIV within the network of references to imitation as digestion and to the serpent as seducer. Praising his qualities as a leader she looks

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[93] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 121-22.

[94] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 122-23.

[95] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 123.

back over his reign and assesses his political achievement. Louis' greatest skill lies in the realm of digestion. In the final lines of the third dialogue Antonia refers to her aunt's advice on eating, which is that 'nothing which is wholesome is bad for People in Health'.[96] Louis XIV, Lucinda argues, knew that the Hugenots within his kingdom must be expelled in line with this principal: they could not be successfully digested and absorbed into the body of the kingdom he was creating, therefore he had to expel them.

This expert knowledge of digestion is what has made Louis XIV the most powerful and most dangerous monarch in Europe. Armed with the seductive rhetoric of power and pistoles, he has overcome the obstacles set in place by the other European powers and 'wheedl'd 'em into Slavery'.[97] Lucinda argues that, as he is knowledgeable in medicine like herself, he

> cuts Throats with a Feather, and draws Teeth without Pain...Some Nations are in Politicks, what *Galenists* are in Physick; they fill their Patients with large Potions, turn their Stomachs with nauseous Drenches, and ply 'em with bigger Bolusses than they are able to swallow; and all to little Purpose, but to enrich their favourite Apothecaries; whilst the *French* King is a refin'd Chymist, who with small Pill and a few Drops, that are hardly felt in going down, and yet of a wonderful Operation in the Body, cures the most dangerous, as well as the most inveterate Distempers. What strange Alterations has he made in all the Courts of *Europe*, with only two Medicines, his *Aurum potabile*, and his Tincture of *Opium*?...I mean Bribing and lulling

96 Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 54.

97 Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 160.

asleep.[98]

Louis' rhetorical and political skills act simultaneously as a medicine and a poison, in the same way that rhetoric is portrayed by Socrates in Plato's *Phaedrus*.[99] Just as Socrates and Lysias deal, in that dialogue, with the nature of love and the seduction of rhetoric, so Mandeville posits Louis XIV as seducer, threatening the marriage-alliance of England and Holland. Louis XIV, however, is transposed to the Garden of Eden, where he adopts the chameleon-like powers of Satan, returning throughout the dialogues in many guises. As, for example, when Antonia tires of politics and talk of France in the eighth dialogue, Lucinda willingly changes the topic and, instead, narrates a fable about a nobleman of great power and generosity who unexpectedly turns evil and destroys the good he had previously fostered. By the end of the fable it is clear that the nobleman is Louis XIV and that, although the literary style of Mandeville's dialogues may change, the subject will remain the same. It is more than likely then, that in the closing tale of Leonora, Mincio, the sly seducer, can also be read as Louis XIV. Furthermore, in the light of the Lockean debates of the preceding three dialogues, the reader may suspect that the faithful married couple, Leonora and her goldsmith husband, bear a resemblance to England and Holland, threatened by the possibility of peace with Louis XIV in 1709. Whether it is valid to read Leonora's tale as a

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98 Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 161-62.

99 Plato, *Phaedrus & Letters VII and VIII* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1973). Plato's discussion of rhetoric and medicine is examined in Jacques Derrida, *Dissemination*, trans. Barbara Johnson (London: The Athlone Press, 1981) 61-171.

political allegory - it certainly could not be reduced to a political roman a clef - the persistent conflation of marriage and politics in *The Virgin Unmask'd* compels the reader to reconsider the status of women and the role of the alliance in Europe.

The most striking feature of Leonora's tale is that it remains unfinished. Mincio, having convinced Leonora that he will die unless she gives herself to him, is left lying on his deathbed with Leonora about to make her vital decision. Critics of *The Virgin Unmask'd* have claimed that Mandeville intended to write a sequel to the story but that he was diverted into journalism by *The Female Tatler* and never completed the task.[100] Both the textual evidence and the historical context of *The Virgin Unmask'd* belie this claim however. At the end of the preface to the work, Mandeville notes that 'By leaving the Story of *Leonora* unfinished, you may expect I intend to go on'.[101] But, given the ambiguity of the subjunctive 'may' in this sentence and the irony implicit in Mandeville's mocking self-portrait as 'author' in the preface, this statement should be treated cautiously. Particularly as in the 1724 edition, in a revised preface, he still asserts that

> By leaving the Story of *Leonora* unfinished, it might have been expected these Dialogues should have been continued, as 'tis hoped they will, when the Story of *Leonora* will be compleated, and the Character of

[100] Paul Bunyan Anderson, "Splendour out of Scandal: The Lucinda-Artesia Papers in The Female Tatler," *Philological Quarterly* 15 (1936): 286-300; M. M. Goldsmith, "'The Treacherous Arts of Mankind': Bernard Mandeville and Female Virtue." *History of Political Thought* 7 (1986): 93-114.

[101] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* n. n.

Mincio will be added.[102]

It seems unlikely that after fifteen years Mandeville would still seriously have considered a sequel to *The Virgin Unmask'd*. The original work had been linked explicitly to the political events of 1709, arguing for a firmer alliance between Holland and England in order to dismiss the prospect of peace and continue the war against France. By 1724, Louis XIV had been dead for nine years, England was no longer at war with France, and Mandeville was embroiled in the controversy surrounding the *Fable of the Bees*.

Perhaps, though, the two strongest arguments against any plans to continue *The Virgin Unmask'd* lie in the book itself. Firstly, the book says everything intended to say - when Mandeville revives Lucinda in the *Female Tatler*, he uses the character to explore new ideas that were to form the nucleus of the 1714 *Fable of the Bees*. Secondly, the book is concerned with the nature of rhetoric and the process of reading in a world of proliferating texts. Mandeville argues that, faced with such a proliferation of works, we must learn to read judiciously, digesting only those parts that will strengthen our inward government. If we read the opening lines of Leonora's tale, we find that the denouement is revealed immediately, though in an awkwardly constructed sentence,

> *Luc*: Oh! *Antonia*, I could give you such a sad Instance of one, that only for Want of apprehending the Danger, without being ravish'd, was robb'd of her Honour; one whose Conduct your self shall not be able to blame, even the Moment she lost it, whose Vertue had been often

[102] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* n. n.

try'd, and could never be said to have left her.[103]

Given the compression of Mandeville's narrative technique in his tales it is unlikely that he would have dwelt very long on Leonora's seduction and he could have quite easily have included it at the end of the dialogue. He seems, though, to have deliberately ended at the moment of Leonora's decision in order to stress the necessity of choice.

Constantly throughout *The Virgin Unmask'd* Mandeville highlights the importance of making a choice, or in rhetorical terms, the activity of prudence. Antonia, an adolescent about to enter society and marriage, must choose from the range of roles open to women, from the pornographic to the convent's chastity. England, with the possibility of peace beckoning, must choose between a continuing military alliance with Holland or the seductive overtures of Louis XIV. The reader of *The Virgin Unmask'd*, confronted with a bewildering series of masks and the opposing arguments of Antonia and Lucinda also participates in the exercise of prudence. This effect of the dialogues form was linked with the concept of prudence from the Renaissance on, as Victoria Kahn states in *Rhetoric, Prudence, and Skepticism*,

> Whereas the classical orator was trained to argue *in utramque partem*, that is, on both sides of a question, in any particular case he argued on one side or the other. But when the Renaissance humanist adopted the Aristotelian and Ciceronian rhetorical skills, he was not constrained by the same immediate concerns as is the

[103] Mandeville, *Virgin Unmask'd* 183.

> orator in the forum of the law court. As a result he could actually present both cases and, in so doing, persuade the reader not to any specific action, but to the exercising of the prudential judgement that is required for all actions.[104]

Towards the end of the Renaissance, however, 'doubts about the humanist rhetorical tradition' meant that authors were 'frequently less concerned with persuading us to action than with persuading us to consider the nature of persuasion itself'. Kahn goes on to argue that

> By emphasizing the problematic nature of interpretation, they force us to reflect on the relationship between interpretive and ethical practice, the practice of reading and practical reason.[105]

Mandeville, in *The Virgin Unmask'd*, seems to want to force the reader to reflect on this relationship between interpretive and ethical practice. He also, however, wants to stress the necessity of actively exercising prudence in social life. In the case of Antonia or the young woman of that time facing marriage, it was not enough to reflect on questions of reading. After such reflection, a decision had to be made. Similarly, England in 1709 was forced to make a decision on the question of war with France. Mandeville believes, however, that it is necessary to engage in reflection in order to make the *right* decision, stressing that it

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[104] Victoria Kahn, *Rhetoric, Prudence, and Skepticism in the Renaisance* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1985) 38-39.

[105] Kahn, 28.

must be a prudential judgement as it is impossible to know everything relevant to the making of that decision.

In a sense then, he is attempting to teach the reader humility, and to instill a realization of our virginity in the face of the world. Everyone, finally in *The Virgin Unmask'd* is a virgin except the seducers, Mincio, Louis XIV, and Dorante, the 'Master in the Art of Wheedling' whom Mandeville warns the reader to distrust in the preface. Characters such as Lucinda, Antonia, Leonora and Aurelia are all presented as virgins, though the emphasis is always on their virginity in relation to knowledge rather than virginity as a physical state of being. Mandeville also presents himself as a virgin in the preface, where, unaware of the intricacies of Grub Street, he omits to write a preface and then, seduced by his publisher promises to write two of them as reparation. England, the body politic, appears in a state of virginity. It is unaware of the complexities of its changing power structures, and has still not awakened to the potential of the economic revolution it had set in motion. Furthermore it is unaware of the moral and ethical implications of these phenomena. And finally, the reader too, is seen as virgin, constantly unaware of the rhetorical strategies at work in the dialogues and bewildered by the ever-receding series of disguises available to the author.

For Mandeville, virginity is a state of ignorance and in *The Virgin Unmask'd* he appears to teach the reader to be aware of this virginity. In an article on Molière's *L'Ecole des femmes* called 'Teaching Ignorance', Barbara Johnson describes the education of Agnes, the young woman in Molière's play, as a negative teaching of

ignorance.[106] Agnes is caught between two teachers, Arnolphe and Horace. Arnolphe attempts to keep her in ignorance of sexuality, while Horace attempts to direct her sexuality solely towards him. Comparing such negative education with that of Socrates in the *Phaedrus*, Johnson states that

> Up to now we have been viewing the teaching of ignorance *in* a purely negative light, as a repressive method of instructing the student *not to know.* What Socrates seeks, on the other hand, is to teach the student *that he does not know.* To teach ignorance is, for Socrates to teach to *un*-know, to become conscious of the fact that what one thinks is knowledge is really an array of received ideas, prejudices, and opinions - a way of *not* knowing that one does not know.[107]

This ultimately is what Mandeville attempts in *The Virgin Unmask'd.* Teaching the reader to follow the Delphic motto 'Know thyself', he reveals the self to be a composite of passions, received ideas and social pressures. He argues that society and the conventions built around it is based on the notion of differences, including even sexuality which is revealed by Lucinda to be based on differences instituted by the Fall of Man. Barbara Johnson sees this sexual difference at the root of Molière's play, the teaching method of Socrates and Western pedagogy as a whole,

> To retain the plurality of forces and desires within a structure that would displace the One-ness of individual

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[106] Molière, *L'Ecole des femmes* (Paris, 1662); Barbara Johnson, "Teaching Ignorance," *Yale French Studies* 63 (1982): 165-82.

[107] Johnson, 181.

> mastery could perhaps be labeled a feminization of authority. For just as Agnes' *le..*cannot designate any single organ as the graspable center of female sexuality, and just as the existence of more than one sex problematizes the universality of any human subject of knowledge, so contradiction suspends and questions the centering of Western pedagogical paradigms around the single authoritative teacher. In this sense, paradoxically enough, it could be said that Plato's belief in Socrates' pedagogical mastery is an attempt to repress the inherent "feminism" of Socrates' ignorance. And it is out of this repression of Socrates' feminism that Western pedagogy springs. The question of education, in both Molière and Plato, is the question not of how to transmit but of how to *suspend* knowledge.[108]

Mandeville's feminism too, in *The Virgin Unmask'd* seeks to suspend knowledge through the use of the dialogue and the carnivalesque atmosphere created by both the masks and the humour of the various characters. The conversations between Lucinda and Antonia are, most importantly, a set of comic dialogues in which Mandeville not only unmasks the virgin but also teaches the virginity of ignorance.

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[108] Johnson, 181-82.

Figure 12. Jacob Cats, *Maechden-plicht* (Middelburgh, 1618).

Figure 13. Jacob Cats, *Maechden-plicht* (Middelburgh, 1618).

Chapter Four: The Ministers of Thought

Part 1

As far as the College of Physicians were concerned, origins were everything in medicine. This debate over origins raged outside the College of Physicians too. Swift 's *The Battle of the Books* and Baglivi's *Practice of Physick* had, through similar fables of digestion, represented the battle between the 'assimilative' ancients and the 'originality' of the Cartesians. Baglivi brought his fable to bear on the question of medical discourse and concluded that

> the industrious Bee behaves itself better than the rest, it gathers indigested Honey from the Flowers, and then digests and ripens it in the little Cells of Labour, 'till 'tis work'd into the highest Degree of Perfection. Now, in our Profession, we want that sort of Physicians which imitates the Bee...[1]

Such ideas on the absorption of medical ideas were taken up by a group of doctors and printers in the first decade of the eighteenth century. Under the supervision of printers such as Richard Wellington, a small stable of mainly foreign doctors produced translations, summaries and abridgements of the works of great physicians. Works remade included Tournefort's *Materia Medica*, the *Works* of Sydenham, Baglivi's *Practice of Physick*, and Ettmüller's *Ettmullerus Abridg'd*.[2] In 1703 John Marten, having

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[1] Giorgio Baglivi, *The Practice of Physick* (London, 1700) 129-30.

written his own *Treatise of all the degrees and symptoms of the Venereal Disease*, translated Greenfield's book on cantharides into English.[3] The translation again focused attention on Greenfield's dispute with the College of Physicians. It also served to reinforce Marten's own treatise and the translation itself is expanded to include notes by Marten, although the whole work is still 'authorized' by Greenfield in a short prefacing note.

This problem of authorship and the authority of ideas in a medical discourse was further highlighted by Mandeville's translation of Francois Calmette's revised, updated and abridged version of Riverius's ideas, *Riverius Reformatus, or The Modern Riverius*. The series of transformations that a translation of an abridged revision must undergo is acknowledged in the translator's preface to the work where Mandeville says

> The first Edition of the following System of the Practice of Physick, being taken from a Latin Manuscript brought ot Geneva, during the Heat of the late Persecution of the Protestants in France, by a gentleman who had been forced to leave the University of Montpellier (where he studied Physick for a considerable time) upon a Religious Account, did meet with so general Reception among the Learned Physicians, that the First Impression (published at Geneva) being soon disposed of, another was not only Printed at Lyons in France, but a Third also

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[2] Joseph Tournefort, *Materia Medica* (London, 1708); Thomas Sydenham, *The Whole Works of Dr. Thomas Sydenham* (London, 1696); Michael Ettmüller, *Etmullerus Abridg'd: or, A Compleat System of the theory and Practice of Physic* (London, 1699).

[3] John Marten, *Treatise of all the degrees and symptoms of the Venereal disease* (London, 1708); John Greenfield, *A Treatise of the Safe, Internal use of Cantharides, in the practice of physick. Written...in Latin, by J. Greenfield...now translated by J. Marten* (London, 1706).

> at Geneva: However the Author of the first Edition, being in the Judgement of the most Able Physicians, thought too concise in repect of several Matters relating to the Cure of Diseases; an Eminent Physician in those parts undertook the task to supply this Defect, by Compleating and Illustrating the Whole with Practical Observations, appropriated and annexed to each Chapter or Head; all the rest relating to the Nature and true Causes of all the Distempers which afflict our Human Bodies, being sufficiently deduced by the Author before.[4]

This translation of Riverius joins the work of Greenfield and Marten as a text that questions origins. This alignment is made more binding by the addition to *Riverius Reformatus* of a treatise on venereal diseases:

> To render the whole more Perfect, and make it appear in the World as a compleat Practical System of Physick, it was thought requisite to add a short Treatise of the Venereal Diseases, founded upon the Modern and most received Rules, Methods and Practice of the most noted Physicians now in France, which was accomplished in the Last Edition Printed at Geneva, with an Appendix annexed to it; Containing a True and Exact Description of all the Secret preparations and Remedies of that great and famous Physician Lazarus Riverius, which being kept very Private by himself, and some of his intimate Friends, were never made Publick hitherto.[5]

At a time when the Societies for the Reformation of Manners were attempting to suppress all lewdness and indecence, such a rash of venereal tracts must have appeared as blatant provocation.

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[4] Riverius, *Riverius Reformatus: or the Modern Riverius* (London, 1713) n. n.

[5] Riverius, n. n.

Evidence of the opposition to such works came in 1709 when Marten was prosecuted for the racy appendix to his sixth edition of the treatise -*Gonosologium novum, or a new System of all the Secret Infirmities and Diseases natural accidental and venereal in Men and Women.*[6] Marten, ('seduced by cupidity'), was accused of intending to 'corrupt the subjects of the Lady the Queene'. It was Marten's seminal rhetoric which was considered dangerous, a language itself infected by explicit words for the body which were capable of transmitting sexual excitement to the reader.

Interestingly, Marten's defence of this tract also emphasises transmission, though this time it is the transmission of ideas. In *An Apology for a Latin Verse in Commendation of Mr Marten's Gonosologium Novum* (London, 1709), the author - 'A Physician in the Country' - defends the explicitness of the *Gonosologium* arguing that

> It is certain that Lust, in it's course and slovenly Dress, is disussed by the delicate Age, and that it must be clad in the beautiful and engaging Robes of Vertuous Language, before it can charm the luxurious Fancy of our well-bred People, and therefore the Authors that now treat about Love, and consequently would raise that passion in others; the more vicious their Design is, the more modest and courtly shall be their Expressions. Such are the Writings that are now admir'd, and those are the Books in vogue; we had two of them out but lately; the one is Memoirs of the Court of England, the other The Virgin Unmask'd; the first from the beginning to the end is a Series of Adultry, palm'd upon the highest Quality of both Sexes in the Nation; the second puts

[6] John Marten, *Gonosologium novum, or a new System of all the Secret Infirmities and Diseases natural accidental and venereal in Men and Women* (London, 1708).

> poys'nous Love upon us, under pretence of giving us an Antidote against the Passions, and yet none of these, O prepostera hominum judicia, meet with any Censure![7]

He also argues that

> the same liberty of describing the...diseases of the secret parts of both sexes, and their cure (which..is said by some to be obscene) has been...us'd both by ancient and modern authors[8]

Peter Wagner describes the rest of the *Apology* as an 'anthology of erotic and pornographic passages culled from a series of medical and paramedical works'.[9] As in his treatises, Marten makes it clear that he is quoting other authors and adding nothing particularly new. His objections to Mandeville's *The Virgin Unmask'd* attack the 'new' method of insinuating a dangerous text under the guise of innocence. Both the *Memoirs of the Court of England* and Mandeville's book are described in the dialect of quackery - the first 'palms off' its text, the second offers and 'Antidote' and delivers a 'poison'. For Marten these texts are models of literary quackery.

Marten's relationship with Mandeville's work, however, is more complex than a simple matter of denunciation. Their contribution to Greenfield's work has been noted above, but they were to be

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[7] *An Apology for a Latin Verse in Commendation of Mr Marten's Gonosologium Novum* (London, 1709) 44-45.

[8] *An Apology for a Latin Verse in Commendation of Mr Marten's Gonosologium Novum* (London, 1709) 5.

[9] Peter Wagner, "The Discourse on sex - or sex as discourse: eighteenth-century medical and paramedical erotica," *Sexual underworlds of the Enlightenment*, ed. G. S. Rousseau and Roy Porter (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1987) 48.

linked again in 1709. The *Apology* had attacked *The Virgin Unmask'd*, but the metaphors of 'poys'nous Love' and the 'Antidote' are taken from Mandeville's dialogues. Furthermore, Marten's treatise and *The Charitable Surgeon* (a book written earlier for Curll) were regularly advertised in the *Female Tatler*, generally appearing in the Mandeville issues of the periodical.[10] In these issues Mandeville continued the masquerade he had started in *The Virgin Unmask'd*. Disguised as Lucinda and Arabella, he speaks on questions of morality, sexuality and manners. *The Female Tatler* was apparently produced by a clique of contributing authors who absorbed a wide range of texts and influences into their style and extended the fictional world of Bickerstaffe with accounts of his dealings with Lucinda, Arabella and the other *Female Tatler* writers.[11]

None of the authors of the *Female Tatler* can be identified with complete certainty, nor indeed can their gender, indicating the deliberate subversion of authorship and an inclination to the masquerade ethos.

As Terry Castle has pointed out the masquerade was a constant subject of attack by the Societies of the Reformation of Manners. It was believed that masquerades promoted lewdness and a promiscuous intermingling of the various classes of society. Such intimacy and disregard for identity could not be tolerated and was often the cause of concern and led, not only to the series of

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[10] *The Female Tatler* (1709-10); T. C. Surgeon, *The Charitable Surgeon: or, the Best Remedies for the Worst Maladies* (London, 1709).

[11] Paul Bunyan Anderson, "Splendour out of Scandal: The Lucinda-Artesia Papers in *The Female Tatler*," *Philological Quarterly* 15 (1936): 286-300.

licensing acts against newspapers and periodicals but, to the first copyright act - an early attempt to limit and define the notion of an author. In 'What Is an Author?' Michel Foucault claims that

> The coming into being of the notion of "author" constitutes the privileged moment of *individualization* in the history of ideas, knowledge, literature, philosophy, and the sciences.[12]

Later in the same essay he connects this idea with the metaphor of disease:

> Second, there are reasons dealing with the "ideological" status of the author. The question then becomes: How can one reduce the great peril, the great danger with which fiction threatens our world? The answer is: One can reduce it with the author. The author allows a limitation of the cancerous and dangerous proliferation of significations within a world where one is thrifty not only with one's resources and riches, but also with one's discourses and their significations. The author is the principle of thrift in the proliferation of meaning.[13]

Such an attitude to the author is embodied in J. Spinke's *Quackery Unmask'd* (1711), an attack on John Marten, the *Gonosologium*, the *Apology* and literary quackery in general.[14] Spinke castigates Marten for translating Greenfield's text without permission and for constantly quoting other authors in his treatise on V.D. The

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[12] Michel Foucault, "What Is an Author?," *Textual Strategies: Perspectives in Post-Structuralist Criticism*, ed. Josué V. Harari (London: Methuen, 1979) 141-60.

[13] Foucault, 158-59.

[14] J. Spinke, *Quackery Unmask'd* (London, 1711).

implication is that Marten is a charlatan, unable to produce original ideas or an original, authorized version of his ideas. Spinke's own text, however, is equally dubious at times. He accuses Marten of being the author of the *Gonosologium* and the *Apology*, but later suggests he was an author of neither. In ascribing the true authorship of these texts he teases and drops tantalising hints:

> N. B. I am now inform'd who was (if not the Country quack, yet) the Country Quack's pretended Friend, and runner of Errands to Mr. Seignior, &c. but, in Respect to his Age, and that Society of Gentlemen to whom he belongs, I will at this Time forbear to tell those Foreign and English Stories of him, that at Doctors-Commons, &c. may be made appear to be Truth, and which (being publish'd) would probably be as much to his Disreputation, as Sintelaer's being either a Pearl-Driller, or Diamond-Cutter, if true, would be to his, if not more; *Verbum sat Sapienti.*[15]

Is he referring to Greenfield, an ageing foreign doctor living in England who was a member of the Royal College and had spent much time in visits to the Doctors-Commons? Who could be wise enough to know the identity hidden behind these words, particularly as Marten floats in and out of focus throughout the work as author, putative author, imitator, quack and plagiariast? In his essay on authorship Foucault concludes by stating that

> as our society changes, at the very moment when it is in the process of changing, the author-function will disappear...All discourses, whatever their status, form, value, and whatever the treatment to which they will be subjected, would then develop in the anonymity of a

[15] Spinke, 69.

> murmur. We would no longer hear the questions that have been rehashed for so long: "Who really spoke? Is it really he and not someone else? With what authenticity or originality? And what part of his deepest self did he express in his discourse?" Instead, there would be other questions, like these: "What are the modes of existence of this discourse? Where has it been used, how can it circulate, and who can appropriate it for himself? What are the places in it where there is room for possible subjects? Who can assume these various subject-functions?" And behind all these questions, we would hear hardly anything but the stirring of an indifference: "What difference does it make who is speaking?"[16]

It is possible that at the change in society which introduced the 'author-function' texts such as *Quackery Unmask'd* were already questioning the implications of this new formation. And, if they were not asking questions influenced by modern ideologies like Foucault's, they were possibly debating the implications within the context of masquerade, reformation of manners, and quackery.

The prosecution, quarrels and scandals surrounding the texts of such doctors as Greenfield, Marten and Mandeville may reveal a debate about the authenticty of medical discourse which was stimulated by the more widespread anxieties which resulted in copyright, licensing etc. While the notion of 'quackery' was being used to describe and attack the therapies of certain practitioners, it may have had a parallel employment in the realm of discourse where medical ideas were being peddled. The particular set of texts in the first decade of the eighteenth century which linked venery and rhetoric appear to debate the problem. For their

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[16] Foucault, 160.

detractors the link between rhetoric, seduction and disease also seemed problematic - something to be stamped out. Such a notion of literary quackery seems to inform Mandeville's *Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions* when he points to the possiblity of exploiting this link in therapy and rhetoric:

> If a Man, that has but once had a Gonorrhea, or any other slight Venereal Symptom, happens to grow Old before his time, and feels a general decay of Vigour and Manhood, he is apt to lay all the blame upon the trifling Infection...In which error People are generally upheld by the insinuating Artifice of designing Quacks, who make an advantage of the many and different Symptoms of the Venereal Disease, as well as the possibility of its remaining conceal'd in the Body for many Years, frighten the Credulous with a Thousand frivolous Stories, and not willing to turn any Grist from their Mill, endeavour to persuade the World, that every Distemper is the Pox.[17]

Here, quack rhetoric seduces the patient into quack remedies by fabricating a terrifying origin - the Pox.

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[17] Mandeville, *Treatise* 43-44.

Part 2

In order to teach the patient how to question such rhetoric, Mandeville's own *Treatise* is woven together from a combination of a wide variety of disparate texts - stories, recipes, quotations, diagnosis, case histories, articles, cited authorities etc. The cumulative effect of such a blend may be to question the origin of medical discourse and, indeed, the origin, of an illness such as hypochondria or hysteria - pointing out how an illness may be no more than the sum of the texts describing it.

The question of origins is raised again in the opening pages of Mandeville's next full length book, *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions* (1711). He immediately places the work in the context of the Fall of Man saying,

> When the crafty Tempter of Mankind meditating their ruine, attacked our first Sire in his Pride, he shew'd himself profoundly skill'd in Humane Nature; from which the vice I named is so inseparable that it is impossible the latter should be ever entirely destroy'd, as long as the first remains. I have no design, Reader, to tire you, with the Catalogue of irretrievable Calamities, it has been the occasion of, both before and since the Creation; but shall only observe to you, that as it was destructive to unexperienced Adam, by bringing Sickness and Death upon him, so it has still continued to be no less pernicious to his forewarn'd Posterity, by principally obstructing the progress of the glorious Art that should teach the Recovery as well as Preservation of Health.[18]

Here, the Fall is seen as the putative origin of all sickness and the

[18] Mandeville, *Treatise* iii.

source of the vice of pride. In this passage, Mandeville is picking up the theme of ignorance which he had explored in *The Virgin Unmask'd*. Before the curse of knowledge, Adam is 'unexperienc'd' and in a state of healthy grace. With 'original' sin he gains knowledge, pride and illness.

For the modern physician the Fall creates two problems. The first is the difficulty of curing an illness and restoring a patient to the state of grace. The second is overcoming the temptation of pride which persuades doctors to speculate and to propound theories as if they were derived from true knowledge:

> 'Tis Pride that makes the Physician abandon the solid Observation of never erring Nature to take up with the loose conjectures of his own wandering Invention...and it is pride in the Patient, that makes him in love with the reasoning Physician, to have an opportunity of shewing the depth of his Penetration.[19]

Overcoming these temptations becomes even more difficult as medical discourse assumes the proportions of a crisis comparable to the Tower of Babel,

> to advance this Doctrine is swimmimg against the Stream in our sprightly talkative Age, in which the silent Experience of Pains-taking Practioners is ridicul'd, and nothing cried up but the witty Speculations of Hypothetical Doctors.[20]

Mandeville's silent practitioner is immediately recognisable as a

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[19] Mandeville, *Treatise* iii-iv.

[20] Mandeville, *Treatise* iv.

follower of Iapis, the physician alluded to in the motto on the title page,

> Scire potestates herbarum, usumque medendi
> Maluit, & Mutas agitare inglorius artes
>
> *Aeneid.* Lib. XII[21]

The motto is taken from Book 12 of Virgil's *Aeneid* and refers to the doctor who comes forward to treat Aeneas when he is wounded in battle with Turnus. The full description is revealing and deserves to be quoted in full,

> iamque aderat Phoebo ante alios dilectus Iapyx
> Iasides, acri quondam cui captus amore
> ipse suas artis, sua munera, laetus Apollo
> augurium citharamque dabat celerisque sagittas.
> ille ut depositi proferret fata parentis,
> scire potestates herbarum usumque medendi
> maluit et mutas agitare inglorius artis.
>
> [And now drew near Iapyx, Iasus' son, dearest beyond others to Phoebus, to whom once gladly did Apollo's self, with love's sting smitten, offer his own arts, his own powers - his augury, his lyre and swift arrows. He, to defer the fate of a sire sick unto death, chose rather to know the virtues of herbs and the practice of healing, and to ply, inglorious, the silent arts.]
>
> *Aeneid*, Bk.XII, ll.391-397[22]

Iapis, like Mandeville, had artistic talents but chose instead to practise medicine and for both men their fathers played an important role in this choice. Michael Mandeville's presence is

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[21] Mandeville, *Treatise* title-page.

[22] Virgil, *Aeneid* 2 vols., trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, ed. T. E. Page, E. Capps and W. H. D. Rouse (London: William Heinemann, 1918) 324-327.

clear in several explicit references throughout the *Treatise.* When the physician, Philopirio, is asked why he chose to study hypochondria and hysteria, he replies

> I should hardly have ventur'd upon it, if I had not seen something of it, a teneris, and been led into it by the long experience of a Father before me, who, when he died had been a Physician above 38 Years, in two very Populous Cities, and as he had some success in the Distempers we speak of, at the very beginning of his Practice...he must have seen numbers of Patients that labour'd under them.[23]

Mandeville makes it clear in the Preface that he is using the mask of Philopirio to honour the memory of his father in a way that would not be possible in a more 'scientific' discourse,

> laying hold of the freedom usually taken in Dialogues, I have in two of three places been more particular as to my own private Affairs, than could be allow'd of in a less familiar way of Writing; and to obviate an Objection, that might be made, Page 40, I'll put him in mind, that Physicians, who have either no leisure, or no inclination to Write, tho' they have very great Business, where they are, seldom are celebrated beyond the Countries they live in. The two Populous Cities there meant, are Amsterdam and Rotterdam; in the same Place, lived in repute above Thirty Years, and for the greatest part of that time more in Request among the better sort of People than any other; as no body can be ignorant of, that lived there before the Year 92, and knew anything at all.[24]

The dialogue form, then, provides Mandeville with a mask which

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[23] Mandeville, *Treatise* 40.

[24] Mandeville, *Treatise* xiii.

allows him to voice the personal, emotional elements that permeate his scientific outlook. It would be unwise, however, to assume that Mandeville has simply chosen to state his current views on hypochondria through the persona of Philopirio. Typically, his apparently innocent statement of intent raises the immediate suspicions of his readers. He claims that

> In these Dialogues, I have done the same as Seneca did in his Octavia, and brought my self upon the Stage; with this difference, that he kept his own Name, and I changed mine for that of Philopirio, a Lover of Experience, which I shall always profess to be: Wherefore I desire my Reader to take whatever is spoke by the Person I named last, as said by myself; which I entreat him not to do with the Part of Misomedon...[25]

Such a statement would present the reader with no problems if Seneca was ratified as the author of *Octavia*. However, while Seneca's tragedies have been reluctantly accepted as 'authentic', *Octavia* has remained doubtful. Assessing the status of the tragedies, E. F. Watling concludes that

> it is clear that the authenticity of *Octavia* is a matter of considerable doubt...The play could evidently not have appeared in its final form...before the death of Nero, three years after that of Seneca. One is strongly tempted to assume that Seneca knew more than nothing about it.[26]

Mandeville as Philopirio cannot be taken at face value. Nor can his

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[25] Mandeville, *Treatise* xi.

[26] Seneca, *Four Tragedies and Octavia*, trans. E. F. Watling (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966) 38-39.

assertion that Misomedon is free of Mandevillian opinion - the hypochondriacal patient often proves to be an even more effective mask to voice the unsayable against apothecaries and rival physicians. All origins are under scrutiny in the *Treatise*, whether they be the origins of Senecan drama, medical discourse, the author's father or Adam in the Garden of Eden.

The Preface, itself, underlines this subversion of origins in several ways. Derrida has pointed out the philosophical quandaries induced by the pretence that a preface introduces a 'main' text and yet must be written after that text.

> From the viewpoint of the fore-word, which recreates an intention-to-say after the fact, the text exists as something written - a past - which, under the false appearance of a present, a hidden omnipotent author (in full mastery of his product) is presenting to the reader as his future. Here is what I wrote, then read, and what I am writing that you are going to read. After which you will again be able to take possesion of this preface which in sum you have not yet begun to read, even though, once having read it, you will already have anticipated everything that follows and thus you might just as well dispense with reading the rest.[27]

In the *Treatise* Mandeville highlights this issue as his preface constantly apologises for specific passages in the main text which implies that the whole work must be read before the preface can be understood. At the same time the preface masquerades as an introduction, preparing the reader for an unknown text. Furthermore, three different versions of the preface exist. In the early copies of the 1711 edition of the *Treatise*, the title page

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[27] Derrida, *Dissemination* 7.

gives the publishing and printing information as follows,

> London: Printed for and are to be had of the Author, at his House in Manchester-Court, in Channel-Row, Westminster; and D. Leach, in the Little-Old-Baily, and W. Taylor at the Ship in Pater-Noster-Row, and J. Woodward, in Scalding-Alley, near Stocks-Market. 1711.[28]

In later copies of the 1711 edition this is altered to read,

> neither would I have scrupl'd to direct the reader to my Habitation, if I made my constant abode in the City; but as I live with my family out of Town, instead of dating this Epistle from my own House, I shall refer him to the Booksellers and Printer, named at the bottom of the Title Page, from whom any one may always learn where to find me.[29]

Possibly trying to fend off an unexpected number of patients, or readers, Mandeville has chosen to disguise the book's origins in London. In the third preface, for the revised 1730 edition, he has not only removed any reference to his dwelling-place but also cut the passages on Seneca's *Octavia* and his father's reputation as a physician in Amsterdam and Rotterdam.

As in *The Virgin Unmask'd*, Mandeville is deploying the preface as a warning to the reader to slough off bad reading habits. Tackling nothing less than the consequences of the Fall and the works of the 'Crafty Tempter of Mankind', Mandeville demands that his readers approach the main text alert and critically.

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[28] Mandeville, *Treatise* title-page.

[29] Mandeville, *Treatise* xiv.

Several of the motifs used in *The Virgin Unmask'd* are explored in the *Treatise*, though this time within the context of medical discourse and hypochondria in particular. The playfulness of the preface, for instance, not only sharpens the reader's wits for the following dialogues but demonstrates one of the possible therapies for hypochondria or 'the hyp'. Humour was a well known palliative for sufferers of this disease and many new books of the day catered for this taste.

The use of the dialogues in the *Treatise* continues Mandeville's exploration of the form in *The Virgin Unmask'd.* There, he relied on the dialogue's ability to divide the persona of the reader, allowing 'knowledge' to be suspended and authority to be questioned. The accepted looseness of the dialogue's form also permitted Mandeville to weave together a patch-work quilt of styles and genres. These various texts could then be absorbed by the reader through the process of imitation inherent in the dialogue.

In the *Treatise*, however, Mandeville begins to extend his exploration of the dialogue form, testing its usefulness as a therapeutic tool in the doctor-patient relationship. In the preface he suggests that the dialogue may be ideally suited to the hypochondriac (Mandville assumes the reader must be a hypochondriac). Conventional medical prose is 'far from diverting' and prone to 'tedious Enumeration of Signs and Causes'. Such a text is more likely to induce hypochondria and at the least must be 'tiresome and disagreeable to People that seek relief in a Distemper of which Impatience is one of the surest Symptoms'.

By using the dialogue, Mandeville draws the reader into a

dramatic world focusing on the relationship between doctor and patient. The actual discussion of the illness reveals the tensions and desires which characterise this relationship, and the later scenes between the husband and wife illustrate the links between personal relationships and illnesses. By dramatising the medical discourse, Mandeville attempts to produce a cathartic effect on the reader and patient. The dialogues 'divert' and 'entertain', thus combatting hypochondria to some degree. More importantly, they dramatise the analysis of medical discourse, creating a polyphony of texts which finally persuade the reader to accept ignorance as a therapeutic state of grace, an aim implied early on in the preface,

> The emphatical Truth is lost upon the Times, and he must not expect to be believed by our acute Philosophers, whose Pride won't allow that it is possible Nature should have recesses beyond the reach of their Sagacity, and reckons the injurious assertion an Affront to human Understanding.[30]

Logotherapy, in the *Treatise*, is designed to not only cure by words but to cure you of the disease of words, theories, tracts, medical journals, countless case histories and medical texts. Recalling his favourite metaphor of reading as a process of digestion, Mandeville claims that the *Treatise* will be a healthy meal,

> I resolv'd to deviate from the usual method, and make what I had to say as palatable as I could to those I had in view for my Readers...I pitch'd upon the Physical Remarks, which you shall find interwoven with the main matter. *Acriora orexim excitant enbammata.*[31] [p.viii]

[30] Mandeville, *Treatise* iv.

This meal is presented within the context of a society glutted on a surfeit of luxury. Mandeville's patients, revelling in the profits of the rising British Empire, are suffering from various forms of indigestion, having consumed too many texts, too many consumer goods and too many exotic foods that are new to the British diet. In *The English Malady*, a treatise on hypochondria, George Cheyne describes this society succinctly, saying

> When I behold...such Scenes of Misery and Woe, and see them happen only to the Rich, the Lazy, the Luxurious, and the Unactive...those who are furnished with the rarest Delicacies, the rischest Foods, and the most generous Wines...I...conclude, that it must be something received into the Body, that can pruce such terrible Appearances in it, some flagrant and notable Difference in the Food...And that it is the miserable Man himself that creates his Miseries, and begets his Torture...[32]

In the first dialogue of the *Treatise* Mandeville outlines this society in more detail through the case history of Misomedon. In a speech that runs for sixteen pages, Misomedon recalls the main events of a life divided equally between total idleness and a study of medicine and hypochondria. The speech incorporates portraits of two physicians who diagnose and treat Misomedon's illness. The patient's life itself is divided into two parts - his early life in which profligacy is his main occupation and his later years in which his only occupation is the study of his own illness.

Misomedon's early life is described in a style reminiscent of the

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[31] Mandeville, *Treatise* viii.

[32] Mandeville, *Treatise* 20.

hero of a restoration comedy,

> I wanted but two Months of being One and Twenty, when my Father Died and left me Three Hundred a Year...upon this I left the University...I quickly became Extravagant...and minded nothing but my Pleasures; of which some were very Expensive...half of my Estate was hardly sufficient to Pay my Debts, and clear the remainder. At Five and Twenty I Married; my Wife's Fortune paid off some Scores...Love and Pastime was all our Employment, from Morning till Night...Neither of us could be call'd Extravagant, yet both desired to live handsomly; my Wife admired Cloaths, and I loved good Eating, and our necessary Expences, exceeded twice my Income...[33]

Misomedon is rescued from inevitable bankruptcy at this stage by an inheritance from a distant relation and he prudently trims his lifestyle to attain financial stability. Having inherited a library too, he turns to the study of classical literature though he remains 'rei Uxoriae addictissimus'. This, his first lapse into Latin, marks the beginning of a constant series of classical allusions revealing an element of pretentiousness on the part of Misomedon. For Philopirio it is the sign of badly digested texts and he swaps classical banter with his patient only to humour him until he can be cured.

Having reached thirty-seven, Misomedon's body begins to suffer the consequences of his earlier lifestyle,

> I began to be troubled with the Heart-burning, which in a little time became a constant Companion to me.[34]

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[33] Mandeville, *Treatise* 3-4.

[34] Mandeville, *Treatise* 6-7.

He responds with some small remedies but finds that the problems are growing more serious,

> Hitherto I had only Quack'd with my self...I perceived, that all the Remedies, I had taken, were only Palliatives, and none of them had touch'd the Cause, but to the contrary I grew daily worse, and the Heart-burning was no more the only Symptom that disturb'd me. After every Meal I had flushings in my Face; all Day long I was troubled with Wind and sowre Belches, and every Morning as long as I was Fasting, I had my Mouth continually fill'd with a clear insipid Water, which without any straining came off my Stomach...[35]

The narrative of the Restoration rake has disappeared, to be replaced by the eighteenth-century hypochondriac in this account of Misomedon's sufferings. This new discourse is replaced as quickly, however, by the arrival of a 'Eminent Physician' who gives his account of the patient's illness in true Galenist jargon,

> I was inform'd that the heat and burning all along the Oesophagus, from which the Distemper seem'd to have deriv'd the Name of Heart-burning, as well as the Flushings in my Face after Meals, were certo certius, occasion'd by an Interperies hepatis calide, which in my Case happen'd to be accompanied with an Intemperies Stomachi frigida, as was manifest from the cold Pituita, which I voided every Morning, as well as the Wind, sowre Belches, and other signs of Indigestion.[36]

The suggested cure reinforces this smokescreen of medical

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[35] Mandeville, *Treatise* 7.

[36] Mandeville, *Treatise* 8.

verbiage,

> As to the Cure...repeated bleeding from the left Salvatella would satisfie both Indications, and to use his own terms, utramque fere paginam absolveret; for that by this means the Fountain of heat, the Blood of which my Liver had too much, would by way of Antipasis or revulsion be drawn from the Right side.[37]

The physician continues in this style for several more pages, outlining a course of bleeding and purging to be followed by a visit to Epsom Spa. Misomedon follows the prescription and finds himself drained and exhausted by the time he reaches Epsom. There he is saved by an 'honest Gentleman' staying in the same lodgings. He dismisses all suggestions of purging and instead applies traditional common sense:

> he...call'd for a Bottle of French Claret, which he order'd to be burnt with good store of Cinnamon, Cloves and Mace, and a pretty deal of Orange-Peel; whilst this was a-boiling he sent for some Syrup of Quinces to sweeten it, and when it was ready, made me take half a Pint of it, with a very brown Toast well rubb'd with Nutmeg, and sup it off as hot as I was able to bear it.[38]

Having abandoned the rhetoric of a Galenist for that of a cookery book Misomedon finds his strength beginning to return. He is, in fact, sufficently healthy to avoid doctors for nearly two years. When he finally succumbs to medicine again in the shape of a physician 'of the Modern Opinion'. This doctor bears a striking resemblance to the young Mandeville of *De Chylosi Vitiata* and his

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[37] Mandeville, *Treatise* 8.

[38] Mandeville, *Treatise* 12-13.

account of Misomedon's illness is a neat precis of that Latin treatise,

> He told me, that the part affected was indeed the Stomach; but that it was a vulgar Error, to think, that there was a great heat required for the Concoction of our Food, since in some Creatures it was altogether perform'd without, as was evident in Fishes, in whom there was not so much as any perceptible warmth; yet, said he, be feeding on their own Species, and swallowing one another, it is plain, that, Bones and all, they digest whole Bodies, sometimes half as big as themselves, without the help of chewing, and consequently are endued with a stronger Concoction than other Animals: He made me sensible; first, that the Aliment in every Creature was digested, and dissolv'd by means of a certain adapted Menstruum, that by insinuating it self into the Pores was able to break the contexture of it: Secondly, that this Menstruum did not act by any Muscular or other Organick Force, but an Intestine motion not unlike that of Yest, or Leaven in Dough, from which Analogy in the Operation it had recieved the same name in Latin, and was call'd a Ferment: Thirdly, that on the various faults of this Ferment all manner of Indigestion depended...
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> The first I was to do, was to take an Emetick Potion or two, to discharge the Viscid Saburra, that oppress'd my Stomach; then with Chalybeats and other powerful Alcalicks to subdue the fix'd Acid Salts, and with Carminatives and Specifick Stomachicks mix'd with Volatile Salts, endeavour to Meliorate, and if possible restore the Ferment to its Pristine State.[39]

This young Mandeville succeeds in easing Misomedon's suffering and remains in favour. Even after he has gone his recipes continue to provide ease and are the only successful remedy before the

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[39] Mandeville, *Treatise* 15-17.

appearance of Philopirio. The recipes, however, only ease pain and even then Misomedon becomes immune to their palliative effects. Mandeville is admitting, through this, that his earlier work on chlyfication was not effective enough, though it had sure foundations. Later in the *Treatise* he will argue that the true cure must go far beyond the simple fact of prescribing drugs. Misomedon's recitation of his case history is already an example of this belief. His long speech is essentially a history of textual digestion as he imitates and absorbs the styles of restoration rake, Galenist physician, classical authors etc. What Philopirio perceives in this case history is that Misomedon, like Lucinda in *The Virgin Unmask'd*, has not yet learned to select texts judiciously and maintain a spare and healthy diet.

This is confirmed by Misomedon as he completes his case history. From the Epsom incident onwards he became interested in medical theory and begins to study it in earnest:

> For above two Years together I read *Hippocrates*, *Celius Aurelianus*, *Aretaeus*, *Galen*, *Celsus* and several other Volumes of Greek and Roman Authors without any great advancement as to Knowledge, till being acquainted with the Physician, I lately mention'd, I was put in a better way, went first thro' two of three Modern Anatomists, and slipt no opportunity of seeing publick Dissections, not forgetting in the mean time Harvaeus de *Generatione* and Borellus *de motu Animalium*...Having laid this foundation, I read with great avidity the inventive *Sylvius de la Boe*, and faithful *Etmuller*, and of our own Nation the speculative *Willis*, and practical *Sydenham*.[40]

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[40] Mandeville, *Treatise* 20.

Not content with a study of medical systems, Misomedon then decides to explore medical theories of hypochondria,

> Having gone through the Practical Authors, with which as I told you, I began, I went over to *Fernelius*, *Sennertus*, *Jacotius*, *Salius*, *Varandaeus*, *Zecchius*, *Thomas a Veiga*, *Riverius*, *Forestus*, and several others of the first rank among the Learned: After them I consulted...*Cardan*, *Sanctorius*, the Voluminous *Mercatus*, *Ferrerius*, &c. not forgetting the excellent Cautions of *Ballonius*, or...*Septalius*...*Claudinus Agricola*, *Martini*, *Wedelius*, *Hartmannus*, *Matthiolus*, *Doringius*, *Rhodius*, *Petraeus*, *Fisherus*, and both those lower shelves.[41]

Having gorged on physicians Misomedon ends by consuming their words on the basis of quantity alone, making room for a short but 'voluminous' list of pharmacopoeias. At this point, the reader begins to suffer from the same indigestion that afflicts Philopirio's patient.

Mandeville has deliberately constructed a medical Tower of Babel where theories of digestion jostle for attention. It is within this context that he turns the dialogue towards an analysis of medical training and the propagation of medical theories. Beginning with the notion of a young medical student graduating from university he argues that

> such a one is no more capable of discharging the wighty Office of Physician, than a Man, that should Study Opticks, Proportions, and read of Painting and mixing of Colours for as many Years, would without having ever touch'd a Pencil, be able to perform the part of a good

[41] Mandeville, *Treatise* 27-28.

History Painter.[42]

Despite this, a young doctor can quickly earn himself a reputation by contributing to the babble of medical discourse,

> Physicians...have found more Compendious ways to Renown and Riches...writing of, or performing something with accuracy in any one of the shallow auxiliary Arts, that all together Compose the Theory of Physick, they...insinuate themselves into the publick Favour...The witty Philosopher...Cures all Diseases by Hypothesis, frightens away the Gout with a fine Simile, but oftener reasons a trifling Distemper into a Consumption.[43]

Through language and the dramatizing of a disease by metaphor a physician can quickly gain recognition. *Philopirio* is attempting to make Misomedon aware of the dangers inherent in the application of language and metaphor to the human body and illness. If the rhetoric of medical discourse is dominated by self-interest then the gap between the actuality of bodily illness and its verbal definition will inevitably increase. In the case of hypochondria the disease eventually exists more as a linguistic construction than as a verifiable physical phenomenon. But, paradoxically, the power of language and metaphor can have a tangible influence on the body. Reading, therefore, is a physical act and a reader can read himself into hypochondria.

Philopirio recommends instead that doctors should follow a more silent course based on the quiet observation of patient and their illness:

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[42] Mandeville, *Treatise* 32.

[43] Mandeville, *Treatise* 33.

> The Tedious, the Difficult, but the only useful, in regard of others, the Practicl part which is not attempted by many, is only attain'd by an almost everlasting attendance on the Sick, unwearied Patience, and Judicious as well as Diligent Observation.[44]

The model and precedent for such a course of study is Hippocrates who is linked by Philopirio to the claim that

> 'Tis Observation, plain Observation without discanting or reasoning upon it that makes the Art, and all, that neglecting this main point have strove to imbellish it with the Fruits of their Brain, have but crampt and confounded it.[45]

Philopirio goes on to argue that this long course of observation should be linked to a system of specialised research at universities, a scheme he has adapted from Giorgio Baglivi. This championing of Hippocrates is part of Mandeville's broader strategy in which he aims to question the authority of medical discourse and to analyse the motives behind medical writing. Hippocrates provides him with a useful tool in this analysis. Within the official 'canon' of medical writers Hippocrates is one of the greatest figures, one of the 'origins' of medical discourse. At the same time, the authorship of the Hippocratic texts is more difficult to ascertain. Hippocrates is a shadowy figure, his authorship can not be definitely proven for any of the texts and if he did exist he probably inspired a school of physicians who contributed many of

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[44] Mandeville, *Treatise* 32.

[45] Mandeville, *Treatise* 35.

the works now under his name.[46] Mandeville reads these works as a clear exhortation to practise observation and to reduce medical discourse to a simple record of these observations. This paradoxical figure is then set in opposition to that of Galen, another 'originator' who betrays all the unsavoury motives of the modern physicians who have followed him:

> Galen himself a Man of very great Sense, and no less Pride, having entertain'd the Ambition of raising himself above any of his Contemporaries, foresaw, that to exceed the most skillful of them in real Knowledge, would be a very difficult task, if not impossible, and at best a tedious work of endless labour: He was well acquainted with the state of Physick and the Palate of his Garrulous Age, and found, that nothing would sooner establish his Reputation, than his Wit: Accordingly he left the Observation to them that liked them, and fell a writing, as fast as a Bird could fly...This was the beginning of People's reasoning about Physick, and that the cause of it all the Hypotheses we have had since, the best of which will be always defective and full of Error.[47]

Medical discourse is revealed to be just another branch of rhetoric, here liable to the same need to be properly 'cooked' to suit the 'Palate of his Garrulous Age'. Galen's motives for constructing medical hypotheses are also seen to be self-serving in contradiction to the traditional image of the 'noble physician'. Mandeville succeeds in undermining both the authority and the scientific objectivity of medical discourse in this discussion of

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[46] G. E. R. Lloyd, introduction, *Hippocratic Writings*, trans. J. Chadwick and W. N. Mann (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978) 9-12.

[47] Mandeville, *Treatise* 55-56.

Hippocrates and Galen. Having done so, he then goes on to examine some medical hypotheses in detail in the Second Dialogue.

Having begun the Second Dialogue with brief discussions of some of the main issues in digestion theory of that time, Mandeville allows Misomedon to quote a lengthy passage from Thomas Willis's *Of Fermentation.* In this quotation Willis outlines the commonly used metaphor of the brain as an alembic, saying

> the Brain with Skull over it, and the appending Nerves, represent the little Head of Glass Alembick with a Spunge laid upon it, as we use to do for the highly rectifying of the Spirit of Wine: For truly the Blood wneh rarified by heat is carried from the Chimney of the Heart to the Head, even as the Spirit of Wine boiling in the Cucurbit, and being resolved into Vapours, elevated into the Alembick; where the Spunge covering all the openings of the hole, only transmits the more penetrating and very subtile Spirits, and carries them to the Snout of the Alembick.[48]

This metaphor is developed by Willis for a further two pages and Philopirio patiently listens as Misomedon quotes it in full. His immediate comment on the passage, however, is cutting:

> The admirable *Willis* is here as he is every where full of wit; his Speculations are as Sublime, as imagination can carry them, and the contrivance of all he supposes are most Ingenious. These *Similes* I confess are very diverting for People that have nothing else to do: In some of our Modern Hypotheses there is as much Wit to be discover'd as in a tollerable Play, and the contrivance of them costs as much labour; what pity it is they won't cure Sick People.[49]

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[48] Mandeville, *Treatise* 83-84.

The evident frustration and anger in Philopirio's final comment is indicative of a constant problem in medicine as new generations still face the obstacles of metaphor. Susan Sontag, analysing the dangerous acculturation of metaphors for the AIDS virus, recalls how she first became aware of this danger after she was diagnosed as having cancer,

> It was my doleful observation, repeated again and again, that the metaphoric trappings that deform the experience of having cancer have very real consequences: they inhibit people from seeking treatment early enough, or from making a greater effort to get competent treatment. The metaphors and myths, I was convinced, kill. (For instance, they make people irrationally fearful of effective measures such as chemotherapy, and foster credence in thoroughly useless remedies such as diets and psychotherapy.) I wanted to offer other people who were ill and those who care for them an instrument to dissolve these metaphors, these inhibitions...to regard cancer as if it were just a disease...Without 'meaning'..*Illness as Metaphor* is not just a polemic, it is an exhortation. I was saying: Get the doctors to tell you the truth; be an informed, active patient; find yourself good treatment, because good treatment does exist.[50]

Mandeville, like Sontag, wants to offer his readers and patients 'an instrument to dissolve these metaphors'. His second dialogue between Philopirio and Misomedon attempts just that, as the physician dissects the rhetoric of Willis' metaphor, teaching his patient how to read prudently. The parallels with Lucinda and

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[49] Mandeville, *Treatise* 86.

[50] Susan Sontag, *AIDS and its Metaphors* (London: Allen Lane, 1989) 14-15.

Antonia in *The Virgin Unmask'd* are notable. Both Antonia and Misomedon are led through a close examination of an image or piece of writing. Both Lucinda and Philopirio point out the rhetorical flourishes which the image-maker employs in order to seduce the viewer or reader. At the end of the lesson both pupils will have been taught how to choose critically from the wealth of images and texts available to them. Philopirio's lesson runs as follows:

> *Phil*: Let us once examine the Simile, and take the Still to Pieces. First, What Comparison is there between the Function of the Heart, the great Treasury of Blood and Life, and the vile Office of a Chimney?
> *Misom*: But you are Captious, Won't you allow of either Trope or Figure? By Chimney he means the Furnace that gives the Heat, the Fire place of the Still.
> *Phil*: No, *Misomedon*, there is more Artifice in this than ye are aware of: The word Chimney is made use of designedly, to hide, as much as possible, the deformity of the Still: For the *Caput Mortuum* being in the Spleen, if he had call'd the Heart the Furnace, as he ought to have done, it would have been too plain, that he had made the Fire between the Head and bottom of the Still.[51]

Misomedon's misreading of Willis' metaphor reveals the dangers of using tropes to convey medical information. As a rhetorical device the metaphor will convey a striking image to the reader which will reinforce the theory being put forward. If the metaphor is accepted uncritically, the medical ideas behind it will also be unquestioned and, worse, they may be misrepresented by the metaphor. The dangers of rhetorical seduction are clearly as present for Misomedon as they were for Antonia.

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[51] Mandeville, *Treatise* 87-88.

If, however, metaphor is a localised danger in medical discourse, Philopirio argues that there is a much greater evil - the medical hypothesis. The case for any hypothesis in medicine rests on a claim to knowledge of the body claims Philopirio, and he goes on to demonstrate that it is this original sin of pride which is the flaw of all hypotheses:

> *Misom*: You say the Hypothesis is ingeniously contriv'd, and may be easily defended; but yet you seem to dislike something in it...what have you to object against it?
> *Phil*: Nothing, but what I have against all Hypotheses in general; I can't endure a Man should make a formal Description with so many Circumstances to make you believe it is true, and write a whole Book upon a thing which he is sure in his Conscience he knows nothing of. We are altogether in the Dark, as to the real use the Liver, the Milt, and Pancreas are of to our Bodies; nay, wholly ignorant of their several Offices otherwise than that they are *Organa Colatoria*...and all that has been said of them besides, by the most Sagacious Man has been nothing but Conjectures, in which the best Anatomists could yet never agree.[52]

Philopirio's cure for this rash of conjectures is yet again, observation. This time he refers Misomedon to Baglivi's advice for physicians to model their hypothesizing on that of astronomers who

> ascend into Theories exactly delineated after a Geometrical manner; and when they have Learnedly examin'd, and are thoroughly vers'd in these things, they are able to foretel, and define all the Motions, Sites, Conjunctions &c. of those Bodies with all the certainty imaginable: So that first they take care of having a vast Train of Observations, and then they compose a

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[52] Mandeville, *Treatise* 103-04.

Theory.[53]

Philopirio goes on to note that the theory devised by such an astronomer will be almost bound to be wrong but that at least a body of accurate observations has been compiled. Comparing a lifetime's study of medicine and astronomy he concludes that

> an exquisite Genius, vers'd in Arithmetick, and every thing else, but the two Arts I named, would not believe the Knowledge, that could be got by observing the different motions of the Celestial Bodies more capable of ever being reduced to an Art of Rules and Certainty, than that which might be acquired by likewise observing the various courses of Distempers incident in our Terrestrial ones.[54]

It is our pride then which blinds us to our true ignorance. Man abuses science by declaring each new system to be infallible, the product of knowledge (the product of the Fall). Instead, Philopirio advocates the acceptance of a shifting, uncertain world filled with contradictions and relative values. The path to any real certainty is deferred for centuries perhaps,

> It is as yet inconceivable, to what prodigious pitch human Knowledge in all things, that fall under the Senses, tho' never so changeable, *remote* or *irregular*, may be carried by diligent Observations, when they are faithfully transmitted from one to another, and without intermission continued for several Ages.[55]

For Mandeville this is a particularly important passage as it marks

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53 Mandeville, *Treatise* 109.

54 Mandeville, *Treatise* 111.

55 Mandeville, *Treatise* 111.

one of the earliest statements of his theory of evolution, to be worked out in much greater detail in his later works. He posits, here, a slow accumulation of observations, facts and information that may one day, far in the future, lead to a moment of certainty. This implies a present-day world of uncertainty and it is the physician's role, therefore, to master the art of uncertainty. Having done so, he can then lead his patients to an understanding of this condition.

For the hypochondriac, it means the learning of a new way of reading and a re-examination of the self. Patients must learn to see themselves surrounded by a network of texts, images, metaphors and theories which attempt to define an illness. The authority centred in medical discourse and the medical establishment tries to present this patient as a passive receiver on which the network is imposed.

Through the dialogues in the *Treatise*, Mandeville hopes to re-invigorate the reader and the patient. Through the dialogic technique of splitting the self, he forces the reader to interrogate medical discourse and to experience, through the patchwork of literary styles, the relative and uncertain nature of medical discourse. By assigning an active role to the patient, he is implying that the dialogue between doctor and patient is a vital part of the therapy. This is underlined by Mandeville's presentation of his own theory of chylification. In his original thesis, his theory was laid out clearly, point by point, beginning with the etymology of terms used in digestion theory and ending with a series of recipes to alleviate patient's distress.

In the second dialogue of the *Treatise*, Philopirio presents Mandeville's thesis to Misomedon. Now, however, the work is placed in a much subtler context. Philopirio introduces the thesis to his patient in the following manner:

> *Phil*: It is the custom in all our Foreign Universities for Students in all Faculties...to compose and defend against all that will oppose a *Thesis* or Disputation...Mine was *de Chylosi vitiata*, which I defended at *Leyden* in the Year 1691, Dr. *William Senguerdus*, Professor of the *Aristotelian* Philosophy, being then *Rector Magnificus*.[56]

Philopirio then goes on to outline many of the points raised in the 1691 thesis. This is not, however, a simple insertion of an earlier work by Mandeville and the reworking of his thesis can only be appreciated fully by an examination of the structure of the entire second dialogue of the *Treatise*.

The dialogue is based on the structure of Mandeville's original thesis on chylification but with one major change. Rather than beginning with the ancients, Philopirio opens the dialogue with a statement of the contemporary theory of fermentation and its role in digestion. He then runs through a brief examination of the physicians who contributed to the formation of this theory - Sylvius de la Boe, Van Helmont, and Thomas Willis. His discussion of Willis' metaphors leads to his criticism of the authority invested in medical hypotheses and this creates the context in which he presents the main arguments of his thesis. Having just stressed the relativity of hypotheses he launches his own with

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[56] Mandeville, *Treatise* 120-21.

typical Mandevillian humour - the contents page for this section states unequivocally that this section outlines 'The Chief Cause of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions.' He continues to toy with the reader in his presentation of the thesis as he combines it with ideas from his earlier work, *Disputatio Philosophica de Brutorum Operationibus.*

The most radical change to his thesis is found, however, in Mandeville's use of the dialogue format to expand various points and to interrogate his earlier theories. The looseness and informality of dialogue style permits him to heighten descriptions of medical 'facts' dramatically. In his thesis, for example, he refers to an observation of Platerus on perverted appetites,

> Platerus, in an observation, refers to a girl who ate an onion which had previously been applied to a plague swelling, also without any harm: although it can't be doubted that the onion was plainly infected with poison.[57]

In the *Treatise*, this description has been digested and absorbed into a livelier text where it reads as follows,

> *Platerus*...relates, that a Girl of about Seventeen, had so depraved and perverse an Appetite, as not only to fancy but likewise to eat an Onion, that in the time of a raging Plague, having been applied to a Pestilential Boil, and being blacken'd and putrified by the Poisonous exhalations was thrown down by the Fire-side. The Girl, says he, recieved no hurt, and remain'd free from a Disease otherwise so Contagious.[58]

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[57] Mandeville, *De Chylosi Vitiata* A4r. 'Platerus in observat...coepam veneno plane fuisse infectam'.

Philopirio continues by recalling his use of a quotation by Hippocrates and here uses it to introduce the notion that the stomach's ferment is composed partly of chyle and partly of animal spirits from the brain. However, the role of these animal spirits has now become much more central to the whole process of digestion and to the disorders of hypochondria:

> Next to Experience, I shall make use of what is the result of it, the Testimony of *Hippocrates*, who in one of his Aphorisms tells us, the Aliments, which our Appetite stands enclined to, are far better degested, than those we don't fansie. From these Anatomical and Practical Observations I conclude first, that if the Animal Spirits, which continually trickle down into the Stomach through the innumerable little Nerves, that discharge themselves there, do not wholly compose...the Stomachick ferment, *Menstruum*...by virtue of which our Aliments are digested, they at least make a considerable, and the most essential part of it. Secondly that some of the Spirits, that help to Constitute the Ferment are of a greater subtilty, and more refin'd than the rest that serve only for Muscularly motions, and other actions of force.[59]

These spirits of 'greater subtilty' create the stomach's ferment and are also 'the Spirits, which are immediately employ'd in the act of thinking'. With this statement, Mandeville links the brain and the stomach in an intimate dialogue. Food can, he implies, influence the brain and hence the mind's thoughts. Likewise, the mind can influence the stomach and, by implication, the rest of the physical

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[58] Mandeville, *Treatise* 123.

[59] Mandeville, *Treatise* 123-24.

functions. The Cartesian problems of the mind's relationship to the body have resurfaced in this discussion of chylification, and Mandeville's earlier thesis on the operation of animals is being revisited.

In 1689 he rejected the strict Cartesian division of body and the soul which gave man the power of self-reflexive thought. However, he found nothing more substantial to replace it and admitted his conclusions were highly subjective,

> I preferred to persuade myself that 'Animals are endowed with no thought and all their actions are automatic'. And after I adapted this idea I noticed that many functions of their lives could be explained by mechanics, which previously I thought must be controlled by thought. That many, however, remain which I cannot explain from their structure, I freely confess.[60]

Now Mandeville feels that the concept of subtle animal spirits can provide a new image of the relationship between the mind and the body which is more satisfactory than that of Descartes. He admits that 'The Metaphysical Principle of Monsieur *Des Cartes*, *Cogito ergo sum*' is 'the first truth' and furthermore that 'matter it self can never think'. Beyond this, however, the relationship between soul and body is 'Mysterious to us'.[61]

Certain things can be asserted, however, such as the claim that 'there must be an immediate Commerce between the Body and the Soul'. As the soul is immaterial there must be a link between the

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[60] Mandeville, *De Brutorum Operationibus* A5r. 'Et postquam hanc fovi sententiam...libenter confiteor'.

[61] Mandeville, *Treatise* 124-25.

two (a subject of intense philosophical debate after Descartes). For Mandeville, the link is the subtler animal spirits - 'exquisitely small Particles, that are the *Internuncii*...the intermediate Officers between the Soul and the grosser parts of the Body'.[62] This is a vital image in the *Treatise*. The description of the animal spirits as 'intermediate officers' conjures up the metaphor of the body as a commonwealth, with the soul as ruler and the stomach as the mass of the population. Mandeville plays on this allusion but complicates it further by going on to refer to the soul as 'an Artificer, whilst the Organs of the Body are her tools'. To accuse the soul of artifice immediately raises interesting questions about thought and the 'true' nature of the soul. In an exchange between Philopirio and Misomedon, Mandeville outlines the implications of his claims on the issue of thought. It is worth quoting this passage in full as it is not only central to an understanding of Mandeville's views on the body and hypochondria but also a key element in his aesthetics. Discussing the 'mixture' of the body and soul Philopirio concludes,

> For tho' our thoughts be never so elevated or Metaphysical, we cannot form them without Idea's of Words, Things, or joint Notions and Thinking only consists *in a various disposition of Images received before.*
> *Misom*: Then you would have this variously disposing of the Images to be the work of the Spirits, that act under the Soul as so many Labourers under some great Architect.
> *Phil*: I would so: And reflecting on what is transacted within us, it seems to me a very diverting Scene to

[62] Mandeville, *Treatise* 125-26.

> think, when we strive to recollect something that does not then occur; how nimbly those volatil Messengers of ours will beat through all the Paths, and hunt every Enclosure of the Organ set aside for thinking, in quest of the Images we want, and when we have forgot a word or Sentence, which yet we are sure the great Treasury of Images received our Memory has once been charged with, we may almost feel how some of the Spirits flying through all the *Mazes* and *Meanders* rommage the whole substance of the Brain; whilst others ferret themselves into the inmost recesses of it with so much eagerness and labour, that the difficulty they meet with, some times makes us uneasie, and they often bewilder themselves in their search, till at last they light by chance on the Image that contains what they look'd for, or else dragging it, as it were, by piece-meals from the dark Caverns of oblivion, represent what they can find of it to our Imagination.[63]

Mandeville is arguing here against the Platonic, benevolent vision of the soul. He is at pains to stress that thoughts depend on the arrangement of observations and images from the material world, even if they are 'elevated or Metaphysical'. Furthermore, thought relies on the images presented to the retina and is shaped by the disposition of those images. The soul, the ruler, has now become the 'great Architect', which arranges these images. The brain, as centre of the commonwealth of the body has a 'Treasury of Images' and Mandeville continues by describing the animal spirits as 'airy velocious Agents...Ministers of Thought' working in 'this Volatile Oeconomy of the Brain'. At the same time, there are darker notes in the description as the soul, once the 'Artificer', now becomes the 'great Architect'. Echoes of the Daedalus myth are multiplied as

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[63] Mandeville, *Treatise* 129-30.

the animal spirits 'quest...through all the *Mazes* and *Meanders* of the Brain'. The image they seek finally begins to ressemble the Minotaur as they drag it 'by piece-meals from the dark Caverns of oblivion'. This confounding of the soul with artifice and the image of a beast argues violently against any Platonic, idealised image of the soul.

Mandeville has mixed motives for creating this image of the human brain and the process of thought. Within the immediate context of *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions*, he is advocating a new awareness of the importance of observation in medicine and encouraging both doctors and patients to examine the relationship between the mind, the body and health. On a wider level, Mandeville is developing the view of human nature he first propounded in *The Grumbling Hive* and later began to work out in *The Virgin Unmask'd*. Having explained the way in which we can reveal or mask images of ourselves through the dialogues of Lucinda and Antonia he is now attempting to examine the nature of representation and perception.

In doing this, Mandeville is also arguing against the aesthetic theories which had recently been given an authoritative English voice in Lord Shaftesbury's *Characteristicks*(1711).[64] There, Shaftesbury had yoked art to virtue, creating the foundation for a new sense of 'Taste'. His vision of a benevolent society was based on a belief in the virtue to be found in perception and representation. The values espoused in the *Characteristicks* were based on the underlying ideologies of Italianate Renaissance art. In

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[64] Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristics* ed. John M. Robertson (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964).

The Art of Describing, Svetlana Alpers refers to these Italianate values as

> The Albertian definition of the picture: a framed surface or pane situated at a certain distance from a viewer who looks through it at a second or substitute world. In the Renaissance this world was a stage on which human figures performed significant actions based on the texts of the poets. It is a narrative art. And the ubiquitous doctrine ut pictura poesis was invoked in order to explain and legitimize images through their relationship to prior and hallowed texts.[65]

Alpers goes on to argue that this way of picturing does not refer to the appearance of things but rather depends on the ordering of things 'according to the judgement of the artist and in particular to the ordering of the human body'. This, Alpers argues, is a way of seeing which was rejected in seventeenth-century Holland by a society where painters, doctors, scientists and philosophers were formulating new concepts of nature and vision. The Dutch were influenced instead by new medical descriptions of the eye and the discoveries being made by the use of the microscope. In such a context art became linked to the craft of observation and seeing was no longer a question of selecting from nature. Everything in nature is pictured in the mind without hierarchy and without privileging man's place in nature. New Dutch readings of Francis Bacon's scientific works and Robert Hooke's *Micrographia* (1665) contributed to a 'Northern' way of seeing,

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[65] Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983) xix.

> To appear lifelike, a picture has to be carefully made. Indeed, a second feature of northern art is its extraordinary display of craft. Here, too, the contemporary interest in the eye, in particular in its active use, is an appropriate way to comprehend the nature of Dutch picturing. Attentive looking, transcribed by the hand - what might be called the observational craft - led to the recording of the multitude of things that make up the visible world...When Robert Hooke published his *Micrographia* in 1644 he claimed to be contributing to what he termed a 'reformation in Philosophy'. The eye, helped by the lens, was a means by which men were able to turn from the misleading world of Brain and Fancy to the concrete world of things. And the recording of such visual observations, which were the subject of his book, was to be the basis for new and true knowledge.[66]

This way of seeing was a precise and specific recording of nature which did not attempt to find a Platonic ideal in the object viewed. When dealing with people in paintings this meant the Dutch placed more emphasis on individuality. Alpers states that,

> Put simply, one could say that Italian art was based on an intentional turning away from individuality in the name of general human traits and general truths. In such an art *resemblance* to certain ideals of appearance or of action, and thus resemblance between things, was constitutive of truth. This not only helped give the art a certain ideal cast, it also encouraged the differentiation between kinds of works. Portraiture, since it must attend to individuals, was considered inferior to works that engaged higher, more general human truths. The Dutch trust to and privileging of portraiture, which is at the center of their entire pictorial tradition, is connected on the other hand to a desire to preserve the

[66] Alpers, 72-73; Robert Hooke, *Micrographia* (London, 1665).

identity of each person and each thing in the world.[67]

Mandeville places his comments on observation, thought and ways of seeing in this general context. In fact, he makes his links to this view of the world palpable on several occasions. Discussing a physician's training he compares it to that of a painter studying optics. Later, while emphasising the necessity of observation, Philopirio uses his examination of a Van Dyck portrait as an example in his argument. Finally, when Philopirio is explaining the subtlety of the animal spirits he draws on the evidence of the microscope to prove the differing quality of various spirits:

> How vast is the difference between the Particles, that in the form of Smoak are separated by Fire from all Combustible matters! How even and uniform does the finest sifted Sand appear to our naked view, and yet if we look upon a small quantity of it through a Microscope, we shall observe not only a prodigious variety of shapes, but likewise innumerable degrees from seemingly great Pebbles to the smallest Atoms, in the bigness of the parts that compose it: The same difference in proportion we should find in the magnitude, as well as Figure of parts in Dust, or Pouders reduced to the most impalpable *Alcohol*, if we had better Glasses and could arm our Eyes more strongly.[68]

Even here, Philopirio is careful to stress that the new discoveries of the microscope only confirm that our knowledge is limited and could be further extended with greater technology. However, this 'northern' way of seeing does provide Mandeville with a therapeutic tool. Optics and the microscope provide information for the

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[67] Alpers, 78.

[68] Mandeville, *Treatise* 127.

physician and a model for the kind of observation necessary in medicine. The Dutch tradition of portraiture provides an equally valuable model for the physician who must compose a case history of each patient based on observations of the symptoms. For hypochondria, in particular, portraiture can, in Alpers' words, 'preserve the identity of each person and each thing in the world'. Philopirio, as an active example of Mandeville's therapy, has attempted to build up a series of observations on Misomedon's illness in order to compose a case history, or portrait, of his patient. Central to this portrait is the issue of Misomedon's identity. His greedy, untrammeled absorption of so many medical texts and theories has had a weakening effect on his health. His equally unregulated consumption of worldly goods and the joys of venery have contributed to this steady deterioration in health. For Mandeville, such a life is the consequence of a poor understanding of digestion. The consuming and digesting of ideas, goods, or sexual acts should be judicious. Every digestion should be made in the awareness that it is simultaneously a process of imitation and absorption. Misomedon has to be made aware that his identity is ultimately composed of the materials he has digested and synthesized in the creation of his own self. 'Tell me what you eat: I will tell you what you are', as Brillat-Savarin phrased it a century later.[69]

As the culmination of this argument for the 'northern' way of seeing, Mandeville has Philopirio retell the life of Misomedon in the

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[69] Jean-Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, *The Philosopher in the Kitchen* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970) 13.

context of all the discussions that have occurred between them. The patient, having absorbed the doctor's well-regulated diet of advice is now ready to accept such a portrait and sets the mood for it when he thanks Philopirio for leading him 'to a noble Prospect of Miracles in the composure of our Frame'.[70] Philopirio's portrait recalls every aspect of his patient's life and at every opportunity he stresses Misomedon's lack of moderation in consumption. Each detail of excess is examined in a portrait which runs to several pages. Finally, Philopirio concludes that it was luxury which permitted the onset of his patient's disease:

> Immoderate Grief, Cares, Troubles, and Disappointments are likewise often Concomitant Causes of this Disease; but most commonly in such, as either by Estate, Benefices, or Employments have a sufficient Revenue to make themselves easie: Men that are already provided for, or else have a livelyhood by their Callings amply secured, are never exempt from Sollicitudes, and the keeping not only of Riches, but even moderate Possessions is always attended with Care. Those that enjoy 'em are more at leisure to refelct, besides that their Wishes and Desires being larger, themselve are more likely to be offended at a great many passages of Life, than People of lower Fortune, who have seldom higher Ends, than what they are continually employ'd about, the getting of their Daily Bread.[71]

In this passage Mandeville broadens the portrait of Misomedon to view him in his social context. The intense focus of the first two dialogues on the personal life and identity of the patient gives way to a wider world view. Through money, Misomedon had access to the

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[70] Mandeville, *Treatise* 142.

[71] Mandeville, *Treatise* 150-51.

consumer world of the fast-expanding British empire, and the leisure to consume constantly. It was Misomedon's imprudent and excessive consumerism which led to the onset of his hypochondria. It was the luxury of leisure time which then allowed this disease to thrive.

By drawing such a portrait of Misomedon, Mandeville prepares the reader for the final dialogue which is more outward looking. Polytheca, the wife of Misomedon, is introduced and there are detailed portraits of their daughter and of Pharmenio, an apothecary. The allusions in the earlier dialogues to the plays of Terence and Plautus now find an echo in the family and social life portrayed here. As the dialogue in which Philopirio presents his cures for hypochondria, it is dominated by recipes, nostrums and apothecaries bills. Related to this is the underlying theme of wine and fermentation which pervades every aspect of the dialogue.

In wine, Mandeville unites two of his main concerns in this *Treatise*. The first is the various theories of digestion which argue that the process is a form of fermentation. The second is the prevalence of pharmaceutical cures for hypochondria which all generally have wine as a basic ingredient. There have always been close links between wine and medicine - Galen, for instance, relied on wines to bathe wounds and to concoct recipes. In his *De Antidotis* he leaves a detailed record of the most popular wines used in Rome, discussing methods of storage and ageing.[72] Mandeville explores the continued use of wine in medical prescription and, given his broader therapeutic strategy, he

[72] Galen, *De Antidotis* (Paris, 1533).

combines this with a meditation on its social value. Following his usual method, the closing remarks of the second dialogue prepare the reader for the final section. Misomedon invites Philopirio to return the next day and to join him for a dinner of 'Venison-Pasty', claiming

> I can promise you no *Formian*, nor *Chios* Wines, but excellent *French* Claret.[73]

The third dialogue begins after the physician and patient have both dined and the reader is aware that all the participants are digesting their dinner as they speak. The conversation opens with a further discussion of the animal spirits in which Philopirio defines wit:

> Thinking consists in a various Disposition of the Images received; so what we call Wit is nothing but *an aptitude* of the Spirits by which they nimbly turn to, and dexterously dispose the Images that may serve our purpose.[74]

He goes on to argue that if witty men study too much and ignore exercise, they will also become victims of hypochondria by exhausting the animal spirits. This explanation only raises more questions for Misomedon, however, as it seems to exclude women:

> what equivalent..wasts the spirits in Women, and is likewise able to make them subject to the Hysterick Passion: for studying and intense thinking are not to be alledged as a cause in Women..and yet the number of Hysterick Women for exceeds that of Hypochondriack

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[73] Mandeville, *Treatise* 154.

[74] Mandeville, *Treatise* 164.

Men.[75]

Philopirio replies that in young girls, at least, a poor diet caused by 'Agues, Green-Sickness, or other Cachexies' produces weakened animal spirits. As he digests his own dinner, the doctor proceeds to outline his view of the digestive process and its centrality to the 'Oeconomy' of the human body,

> We can ask no more of the Stomachick Ferment, than that insinuating it self into the Pores of our Aliments it dissolves the Contexture of them, and makes them into such a Pulp, as being afterwards mix'd with the Gall and Pancreatick Juice, shall suffer its finest parts by the Peristaltick motion to be transcolated through the Glandules of the Intestines into the Lacteal Vessels: This is all what belongs to a good Chylification, which may be done, and yet the Chyle be unfit to make good Blood, if the Aliments are improper; the Stomach is only to be consider'd as a good Cook who may dress every thing to the best advantage, but cannot make the Flesh of a Starv'd Old Cow so Nutritious, as that of a Young well fed Heifer. If the Food when we Eat it, is not endued with a great many Balsamick, Spirituous, or what we call nourishing Parts, the Blood cannot receive them from it, how well soever it may be assimilated with its Mass.[76]

This ecstatic celebration of the digestion process is at the core of Mandeville's thought. The stomach - 'a good Cook' - is dependent on the materials given to it to work with. In the case of young girls this means that eating 'Trash' will give the stomach poor material and the resulting animal spirits will therefore be weakened.[77] In

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[75] Mandeville, *Treatise* 165-66.

[76] Mandeville, *Treatise* 170-71.

the wider context, where Mandeville imagines life in a complex consumer society, it means that the wrong choice of consumer goods or an excess of goods, theories, acts of lust etc. will destroy personal identity. Prudent choice of goods, food or models to imitate is imperative to retain a stable sense of the self. As Philopirio moves on to a discussion of children he stresses the value of imitation in providing the animal spirits with suitable images to arrange in the act of thinking:

> the aptitude of the Spirits...is no more so, than the aptitude of the Organs of Speech, and that both are only to be attain'd by Imitation and Practice, of this we see Thousand instances every Day in Infants...that striving to imitate the actions of others by degrees they model their manner of Thinking...by what their Senses communicate to them of the Thoughts and Words of those they converse with.[78]

Having restated his belief in imitation Mandeville has set the scene for the examination of Misomedon's family and the society they live in. The world he depicts is one of unfit people tyrannised by fashions, jargons and authoritative conmen. Lacking any understanding of the body and health in this society, most people appear to succumb to the wine-laden drugs of apothecaries and doctors.

This section opens with more than ten pages of Misomedon's recipes and prescriptions, transcribed in the abbreviated Latin that requires a pharmacopoeia for elucidation. The prescriptions are

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[77] Mandeville, *Treatise* 166-69.

[78] Mandeville, *Treatise* 180.

typical of the physician of the 'Modern Opinion' mentioned in the first dialogue and several of them are reminiscent of the recipes found in Mandeville's *De Chylosi Vitiata*. However, their presentation by a patient undermines their medical authority. The obsessive interest and enthusiasm which Misomedon displays while showing off these recipes reveals a life lived by stumbling from one drug to another:

> I never found any thing of greater Efficacy against the Sour, and Wind in my Stomach than what I read to you last, and I would never have left it off, but that I imagin'd it bound me up; after that I remember I made use of this Absorbent Electuary.
>
> ℞. *Conch. pp.* ʒ *iij*
> *Ocular.* ʃs
> *Lapid. haemat. aa* ʒ *iβ.*
> *Croci Martis,*
> *Chryst. mont. aa* ʒ *i*
> *Bol. Armen.*
> *Antimon. diaphor.*
> *M. & C. S Q Conserv. flor. genist. f. Elect. cuius dos.* ʒi. *bis indies.*[79]

Misomedon is a connoisseur of drugs, proud of his knowledge and ever alert to the effects of every dose, whether imagined or real. In an orthodox medical text the transcription of these recipes would be read as a serious passage of advice. Delivered by Misomedon they become the deadly arsenal of a medical bore. Just as Philopirio seems about to criticize this performance, however, Misomedon's wife arrives.

Polytheca, a name that literally means 'many drugs', is a suitable

[79] Mandeville, *Treatise* 192-93.

culmination of this series of prescriptions. She is plagued not only by hysteria but the pressures of suffering from the 'Vapours' when 'the very name is become a Joke'.[80] Her life revolves around the advice and medication provided by her apothecary, Pharmenio, who has pronounced her to be incurable but enamoured himself to her by his constant ability to listen to her when she describes her problems. After introducing herself she quickly begins to describe her case history to Philopirio and then recounts the history of her daughter who suffers equally from the vapours. Their lives are strikingly summarized by Misomedon when he tries to recall his daughter's medicines:

> I know that she has had several Decoctions of Mugwort, Feverfew, Calaminth, Rue, Peony, Peony (sic), Pennyroyal, and such like, with Baths of the same, sometimes she has taken for a considerable time Testaceous Powders, and others, with Crabs-eyes, Red-Coral, Volatil Salt of Tartar, Diaphoretick Antimony, Bole-Armenick; at other times Uterine and Stomachick Electuaries, with Savin, Nutmeg, Myrrhe, Saffron, Volatile Salts, Foetid Oils, &c. several sorts of Hysterick Pills...I remember she had a *Bolus* prescrib'd her, which I thought very remarkable, and was
>
> ℞. *Cort. peruv.* ℈*i*
> *Pulv. secund. human. gr.x.*
> *Castor. gr.vi.*
> *Croci gr.iv.*
> *Satis Jovis gr.v.*
> *M. & C. s. q. Conserv. absynth. f. Bolus.*
>
> This she took twice a Day in Six Ounces of a Decoction of Black-Hellebore and Briony-Roots, Pennyroyal, Rue and Mugwort; and at the same time *in Regione Umbilici*, she

[80] Mandeville, *Treatise* 199.

> wore a Plaister of *Galbanum Caracanna, asa foetida* and Oil of *Tacamahaca.*[81]

Mandeville goes on to make it clear that most of these decoctions are mixed with various wines, creating an image of both Polytheca and her daughter as women living in a constant state of dulled inebriation. As with Misomedon, Philopirio constructs a portrait of Polytheca which places her in a social context and takes every aspect of her life into account. This is, in effect, an holistic view of the patient's illness in which Mandeville is arguing both that such a view of the illness is necessary if it is to be treated properly and that the patient's lifestyle is the main cause of the illness.

The reasons why Polytheca has drifted into this condition are never stated explicitly but Mandeville makes it apparent that it derives from the poor relationship between her and her husband. Her speeches are constantly interrupted by Misomedon who mocks her views, dismisses her illness as a figment of her imagination and derides her apothecary. Any point Polytheca makes about her condition is immediately taken up by her husband and methodically criticized, every argument being reinforced by a battery of medical information. Misomedon is systematically brutalizing his wife with his knowledge as Mandeville demonstrates in their final exchange. Having again attacked apothecaries, Misomedon concludes with this advice to Polytheca:

> *Misom.*: But if you think I don't do them Justice, pray,

[81] Mandeville, *Treatise* 207-08.

> my Dear, give your self the trouble of reading this little Book, where the Mystery of Compound Medicines as to their intrinsick Value, is very handsomely unfolded: It is the work of an Eminent Physician, Dr. Pit, who for the good of the Publick has shewn the vast difference between the prime Cost, that Simples are bought at from the Druggists, and Herb-Women, and the extravagant rates, they are sold at by the Apothecaries, when they have disguis'd them in mixtures of specious Titles. It is very diverting...
> *Polyth.*: It may be so, but I have other things to mind. --Oh the Tormenting and Throbbing Pain I feel in my Head! This Minute my Brains are a boiling, and if there was half a Dozen Trunk-makers at work under my Skull, I don't think I could be sensible of more Noise and Beating than I am. I can stay no longer...I am forc'd to withdraw. Oh! the misery of...[82]

The lack of communication between the couple is obvious. Misomedon only seeks an opportunity to broadcast his views of medical issues while Polytheca's vivid complaints and her withdrawal are symptoms of an ailing relationship. When she has departed Misomedon reveals just how little sympathy is left in the marriage when he declares 'she nothing but thwarts and contradicts me'. Convincing himself of her deliberate malevolence he reacts with equal spite - 'I did expect it would put her in the *Vapours*, if I spoke more against the Apothecaries than she could answer'.[83] Philopirio gently tries to highlight the problem in their marriage by directing Misomedon to a satire by Horace which argues that man should look for the fault in himself rather than criticize others.[84]

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[82] Mandeville, *Treatise* 232-33.

[83] Mandeville, *Treatise* 234.

[84] Horace, *Satires and Epistles*, trans. Niall Rudd, ed. Betty Radice (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973) 50. The passage Philopirio alludes to is in

He has carefully couched his advice in the classics to humour his patient before adding a more direct comment on the exchanges between husband and wife:

> it could not be to please her, that with so much eagerness you snatch'd at every opportunity of speaking against the Apothecaries; and indeed, in my Opinion, you have been too severe upon them.[85]

This comment not serves as a criticism of Misomedon's marriage but forces the reader to reassess the harsh attacks on apothecaries in the previous pages. While the attacks give a thorough airing to the contemporary debate on the role of the apothecary they go beyond the feud between doctor and pharmacist. Clearly, Pharmenio, the apothecary to Polytheca has a role in her life which derives from the difficulties of her marriage. Misomedon remains wrapped in contemplation of his own self and devotes his time to a minute analysis of his own physical condition. He resents the competition for attention provided by Polytheca's vapours and suspects it is a deliberate attempt to annoy him rather than seeing it as a visible sign of the crisis in their relationship. Pharmenio, however, both listens to Polytheca and acknowledges the suffering involved in her illness:

> *Pol.*: *Pharmenio*, whom you are pleas'd to call Judicious in Jest, is a Skilful-Man of great Experience,

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Satires I, iii, 25-28, 'Before examining your own faults you smear ointment/on your bloodshot eyes, but when it comes to your friends' foibles/your sight is as sharp as an eagle's ot the Epidaurian snake's./Unfortunately they in their turn scrutinize your deficiencies.' Mandeville first quotes this passage in his *De Medicina Oratio Scholastica* 13.

[85] Mandeville, *Treatise* 234.

> the understands my Constitution thoroughly; he is of Opinion that I am incurable, I have heard the same of Eminent Physicians; yet he has the Patience to weigh my Complaints, or at least the good manners to hear them, and seldom fails of giving me ease, even when I am at the worst, which is what others that boasted of greater learning either could or would not do; so that I should think myself unwise to leave him.[86]

The reason, then, that Polytheca (and perhaps most women at that time) preferred the services of Pharmenio was that he acknowledged her as a person, taking her problems seriously. A doctor would have paid more attention to the illness without acknowledging the broader context of the patient's life. The danger of Pharmenio, however, is that he is essentially a businessman and his remedies often are designed only to offer a state of inebriation which will lessen the pain of a failed marriage.

In Mandeville's burgeoning consumer society the apothecary appears as an ambivalent figure typical of the new society. As a businessman, he persuades his customers to buy his products and thus understands the market forces of the consumer world. He then persuades the customer to swallow the consumer product, often sweetening the pill with sugar and wine. He achieves both of these objectives by feeding his clients with palatable rhetoric. In a memorable portrait Misomedon reveals the apothecary at work,

> I have known an Apothecary in an idle Afternoon go to a Person of Quality's, where they made use of him: There happen'd to be no body at home but Children and Servants, that from the highest to the lowest were all in

[86] Mandeville, *Treatise* 200.

> perfect Health: If here he came for Business (you'll say) he was disappointed; but you are mistaken, the Courteous Gentleman with an engaging familiarity accosts every Servant in the House, and puts off a Purge to the Cook, a Vomit to the Butler, a Box of Pills to one of the Footmen, and a Pot of *Lucatellus* Balsam to old Nurse. The Children absolutely refusing to take any Physick at least inwardly, he Coaxes the little Master into the use of a charming *Dentifrice*, and a sweet-scented *Collyrium* to rinse his Mouth with after it, that shall preserve his Teeth and make them look like Ivory, tho' he was to eat nothing but Sugar and Sweet-Meats all Day long; to pretty Miss he'll send a Lotion for her Hair, and a Paste for her Hands, that shall render the one so bright as Silver, and the other whiter than Snow, with a Beauty-wash for their Maid, that assisted in the perswading of them. The affable Gentleman has every Bodies good word: The Children are pleas'd, the Servants commend him, my Lady is obliged to him; and Ten to One but the first opportunity of driving that way her Coach stops at his Door, and she thanks him for the care he took of her Family in her absence.[87]

This is the rhetoric of consumerism at its best. The apothecary, understanding the true nature of consumerism knows exactly how to arouse the desires needed to offload various products, accurately sizing up the articles that will 'sell' to each customer. He is skilled at reading people and situations, just as Pharmenio is skilled at reading the needs of Polytheca and her daughter. Mandeville stresses the rhetorical nature of the apothecary and his art throughout this section of the *Treatise*. Not only can the apothecary read the world but he can easily deconstruct a prescription:

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[87] Mandeville, *Treatise* 216-17.

> *Polyth.*: How then come they to understand the Physicians Bill so readily, that are all writ in Latin?
> *Misom.*: The Body of a Bill is only compos'd of Medicines, they have in their Shops, and contains nothing but the Names of what they can Sell.[88]

The doctor's bill is an intersecting series of ingredients, each of which represents a consumer item. The bill is no more than a customized consumer item. Just as hypochondria is an illness constructed from a series of intersecting texts and Misomedon's body is the compound of various foods, remedies and digested readings, so the 'Body of a Bill' has ingested various ingredients. Moreover, medical receipts, like culinary recipes, are of indeterminate origin as they are usually the product of a long series of imitations of other receipts.

The apothecary is the embodiment of the 'sprightly talkative Age' which Mandeville warns us of in his preface. Through the seduction of his rhetoric consumer goods are transmitted from retailer to customer with the same promiscuity as the pox passed through London society. Mandeville's portrait of the apothecary is not particularly distasteful however. The tone of the description is comic and there is a definite sense of admiration for the apothecary's ability to match people and products. Mandeville's warnings to Misomedon and to the reader of the *Treatise*, then, are not directed at the new consumer culture in Britain but at those who participate in that culture without understanding how it is constructed.

At the heart of this network of ideas lies Mandeville's theories

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[88] Mandeville, *Treatise* 229.

on ways of seeing and the interpretation of an image. His attention to the lengthy quotation of Thomas Willis' metaphor of the brain as an alembic, his championing of the microscope and the Dutch tradition of portraiture and his notion of the animal spirits arranging images received in the brain all relate to this issue. The 'witty Speculations of Hypothetical Doctors' were multiplying as quickly as the range of choices, commodities and temptations available in the British Empire. To deal with such a constant barrage of images, goods and medical theories Mandeville suggests that it is necessary to have reliable interpretative tools with which to examine the usefulness of each consumer choice. By linking the brain and the stomach through the work of the animal spirits Mandeville makes the reader aware of the effect society can have on the physical constitution. Every image is, in effect, digested by the eye, the stomach and the brain. The case histories of Misomedon, Polytheca and their daughter all attest to the dangerous effects of indiscriminate digestion of images, rhetoric, medical theories, food and drugs. Both doctors and patients must therefore learn to assess every morsel and to moderate their consumption accordingly.

When Mandeville republished the *Treatise* in 1730, he elaborated on this theory of medical aesthetics by allowing Philopirio and Misomedon to discuss the two lines of Virgil's *Aeneid* which appear on the title-page of the book itself. Misomedon begins by relating a story of Michelangelo making a new head for a broken statue of a '*Faunus*' by means of educated guesswork. Philopirio replies

> *Michael Angelo* knew his Task; and tho' perhaps no body besides himself could have made a Head answerable to such a Body; yet it was no Secret, which Part of the Statue it was that was wanting: but in the latent Causes of Diseases we can form no Idea of what we are ignorant of; that is, we don't know the Figures nor the Properties of the things that are hid from us, and we are obliged to make Sounds for, and adapt Words to things that are inexpressible.[89]

Through experience gained by years of observation, Michelangelo can skillfully complete a work of art. Philopirio argues that doctors must approach disease and illness in the same way. Observation will lead to an educated guess at the cause for an illness but there is a gap between reality and language. Misomedon quotes Virgil's lines on the silent arts of Iapis, acknowledging their authority, but admitting that he still desires more:

> There is a Gap between the Observations made on the Symptoms of a disease, and the Cure of it: I want to have that Gap fill'd up; and the most airy Speculations are more satisfactory, than a Man's saying that he knows nothing of it. To consider the Nerves as the Snouts of an alembick, and make the Brain serve for a Spunge, requires at least as much Capacity, as to be altogether silent concerning the Operations of either.[90]

Misomedon has acknowledged the uncertainty of medical theory and the flaws in Willis' metaphor - Philopirio's lesson in the second

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89 Bernard Mandeville *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions* (London, 1730) 228.

90 Mandeville, *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions* (London, 1730) 230.

dialogue. He now agrees with his physician that medical discourse has a strong fictional dimension and has pointed out the exploratory nature of Willis' metaphor. When it is recognized as a possible fiction then it can have an experimental value, probing the gap between observation and language.

Mandeville's theory of medical esthetics was not developed in isolation. The 'northern' ways of seeing described by Svetlana Alpers were evident in many visual forms and often dealt explicitly with the subject of digestion and medical metaphor. In the emblem book in particular digestion was imagined in several different ways. Ripa's *Iconologia* presented readers with a female figure and an ostrich as a representation of 'Digestion' (figure 14).[91] The woman was described as having a strong constitution and the ostrich denoted good digestion as the bird could digest iron and was therefore the sign of a strong stomach. The image reflects the iatro-chemical theories of digestion which were beginning to gain ground in the time of Ripa. As the debate on the true nature of digestion raged through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Ripa's figure continued to be reproduced in only slightly varying forms (figures 15-17).[92] Meanwhile the Paracelsian reading of digestion was being represented in the emblems of Michael Maier, a Paracelsian physician and Rosicrucian.[93] His image of King Duenech introduces a long prose commentary in which Maier sets out another iatro-chemical version of the digestion process,

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[91] Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Padua, 1618) 138.

[92] Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Venice, 1669) 149; Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia, or Moral Emblems* (London, 1709) 22; Jean Baptiste Boudard, *Iconologie* (Vienna, 1766) 157.

[93] Michael Maier, *Atalanta Fugiens* (Oppenheim, 1618) Emblem XXVIII.

embedding it in an alchemical context (figure 18). Later in the seventeenth century Jacob Bornitz produced a more explicit image of the stomach (figure 19).[94] Among a series of emblems depicting chemical transformations, he presents a relatively realistic image of the human stomach below the motto 'Antiquitas Chemia'.[95] Other emblems were specific representations of the metaphor which Willis explored and which Misomedon and Philopirio dissected. Theodor de Bry depicts a man in a steam bath wearing an alembic on his head.[96] Rats are spilling from the snout while images of play and toys rise in a vapour from the brain (figure 20). In another emblem by Peter Rollo the same images which arose from the brain now arise from a wine vat poised on a man's stomach (figure 21).[97] The relationship between the stomach and brain which Mandeville explores in the *Treatise* are neatly caught by these overlapping images. The second draws out the analogy even further however, as it links the vapours and images of the brain to the vapours arising from wine. Mandeville argues that the images carried to the brain are conducted there and arranged by animal spirits which are created by the stomach's ferment. Wine is seen as similar because it, too, is the product of a fermentation process and therefore can produced similar images.

None of these images are didactic nor are they technically detailed enough to explain the process of digestion in any conclusive fashion. Instead, they occupy the same gap between

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[94] Jacob Bornitz, *Emblematum Ethico-Politicorum* (Heidelberg, 1664) 48.

[95] The motto can be translated as 'Primitive Chemistry'.

[96] Jan Theodor de Bry, *Emblemata Saecularia* (Frankfurt, 1596) 65.

[97] Peter Rollo, *Le Centre de L'Amour* (Paris, 1690) 50.

observation and reality which Thomas Willis explores in his use of metaphor. Each of the images is in tension with a motto or commentary which attempts to define or qualify it in some way. Certainty, as with most emblems, remains suspended between these various elements.

Similarly, Mandeville suspends certainty in the final section of the *Treatise*. As Philopirio presents his cures for Misomedon and his family, relativity becomes the dominating feature of the dialogue. Medical and literary origins again become uncertain as Mandeville cites sources such as Thomas Sydenham, Thomas Fuller, Mercurialis, Suetonius, Terence, Herodicus, Plato and Hippocrates. Many of these figures appear are distanced by appearing indirectly in anecdotes related by other writers cited by Mandeville and Daniel Le Clerc's *Histoire de la Medicine* is a constant secondary source.[98] The other dominant voice is that of Horace the Roman poet, who himself imitated Greek poetic styles. As this ferment of writers is absorbed into the text and digested by Misomedon and the reader, Philopirio outlines a dietary cure for his patients' illness. Diet supplemented by plenty of exercise is recommended for all three patients. Wine is also discussed through the medium of Horace's poetry, allowing Mandeville to create a ferment of literary images around a discussion of wine's influence on the vapours.

Mandeville's recommendation of diet attempts to present itself with as few traces of medical jargon as possible. His introduction of the cure states that

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98 Daniel LeClerc, *Histoire de la Médecine* (Amsterdam, 1696).

> *Diet, says* Le Clerc, *was the first, the principal, and sometimes the only remedy that* Hippocrates *made use of.* And shall we lay no more stress upon it, as if it did not belong to the Art of Physick?[99]

Even this simple statement mediates the authority of Hippocrates through the prose translation of Le Clerc and reduces medicine to the simple basics transmitted through the centuries. More emphasis is placed on knowledge of the dietary worth of various food and the art of cooking than any technical skill in medicine. Philopirio's advice is as follows:

> Let your Diet be Nutritious and inoffensive, and your Cookery be simple, natural, and I won't say unartful, but not *operose*. As for Example, Let your Fish be neither stew'd or fried, or your Flesh be otherwise than Broil'd or roasted; and neither of them previously Salted...make use of no manner of Sauces (Salt and Pepper only excepted) but plain Butter for the first, and the natural Gravy for the latter.[100]

The austerity of this cookery is reminiscent of the Dutch desire to control what they termed 'overvloed' - conspicuous over-consumption in the kitchen. In *The Embarrassment of Riches* Simon Schama describes the general context of such an approach to diet in Holland:

> The control of *overvloed* through a dam of pious manners became a standard refrain of Dutch family manuals as it already had been in Renaissance Italy and

[99] Mandeville, *Treatise* 254.

[100] Mandeville, *Treatise* 245.

> humanist Flanders. The prolific and immensely popular physician-author, Jan van Beverwijck, in his Schat de Gezontheyt (Treasure of Health) followed moralists all the way back to Seneca in urging moderation in diet as the best way of avoiding plague, flux, pox, rheum, ague, and insomnia. The standard cookery book designed for households of the middling sort, De Verstandige Kok of Zorgvuldige Huyshouder (The Wise Cook or the Painstaking Householder) similarly connected an orderly, regular and balanced dietary regime...with a morally wholesome and thriving family life.[101]

Schama goes on to show that the best example of the Dutch idea of a balanced diet could be found in the galleys of the navy:

> Naval fare was carefully regulated according to official notions of the dietary norm, because Dutch vessels were regarded as little republics, floating embodiments of the commonwealth whose flag they flew, subject to the triple authority of its representatives: magisterial/military (the skipper), commercial (the shipboard merchant) and clerical (the marine predikant).[102]

Mandeville appears to have agreed with such a reading of the naval diet as Philopirio recommends it as the basis of his own cure for Misomedon:

> I can advise you to a Dish, which tho' cheap, and in *England* unregarded, is for goodness of inestimable value: What I mean is stockfish, a kind of Cod that is dried without being Salted...the Fish I speak of, and Grout or Burgoe, make up almost the whole Diet of the *Dutch* Sailers, who are fully as Robust, and for the generality

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101 Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (London: Collins, 1987) 158-59.

102 Schama, 175.

> more Healthy at sea, than those of other Nations that are fed at dearer rates.[103]

Misomedon's objections that there are far more nutritious fish are countered by the argument that his constitution is not able to cope with richer food. Behind this excuse, however, there is a desire on Mandeville's part to recommend a fish which will deliberately remind Misomedon of the need for austerity and a sense of balance in diet. The crude simplicity of the meal will be a therapy in itself as it removes the patient from the seductions of over-specialized medical or culinary vocabulary.

Philopirio's reluctant use of drugs is also couched in the same austerity, emphasizing their simplicity and demystifying their use by prescribing in English:

> I have no Opinion of Syrups, or Simple Waters; the Medicines I give are either always taken in Coffee, Tea, Wine, Fair-water, or other Liquors that are familiar to the Patients, and generally to be had at their Houses or near hand; or if any particular Vehicle be required, I prescribe a Decoction, or Infusion of a few Simples, in plain English, which every body may make at home, or have done where he pleases.[104]

In the 1730 edition of the *Treatise* Mandeville adds one other suggestion as to the necessary skills of the physician claiming that 'all physicians should be good Cooks, at least in Theory'. The deliberate simplicity of his description of the physician's role is reinforced in the closing pages of the *Treatise* where Mandeville

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103 Mandeville, *Treatise* 246.

104 Mandeville, *Treatise* 263.

focuses on one of the oldest medicinal cures - wine. Philopirio calls it 'the Greatest Remedy in the World' and stresses how its use must be regulated by the relative needs of each drinker. All his comments are mediated by the poetry of Horace which Mandeville has carefully selected to suggest the complex social nature of eating and drinking. His choice of Horace for this task is significant in itself. While Virgil was seen as a more pastoral figure who represented a highly moral stance, Horace was seen as more worldly. His association with Augustus and his constant mixture of love and politics in an urban setting seemed to compromise the purity of his moral position. Because he frequently wrote of food he was often used as a touchstone in debates on taste - both culinary and aesthetic.[105] By choosing Horace, Mandeville places his discussion on wine and food in a social context and uses this to point out the way in which everyone creates their own fiction of society and their place in it. Philopirio quotes Horace Epistle V, Book 1:

> operta recludit
> Spes jubet esse ratas, in prælia trudit inermem
> Sollicitis animis onus eximit; addocet artes:
> Fæcundi calices quem non fecere disertum?
> Contracta quem non in paupertate solutum?
>
> [It opens secrets,/gives heart to our hopes, pushes the cowardly into battle,/lifts the load from anxious minds, and evokes talents./Thanks to the bottle's prompting no one is lost for words,/no one who's cramped by poverty fails to find release.][106]

[105] In 1705 Dr. William King published *The Art of Cookery*, a riposte to Martin Lister's translation of Apicius' *De Re Coquinaria* published in the same year. King's attack on Lister was modelled on the structure of Horace's *Art of Poetry*.

Here Horace is stressing the tranformative powers of wine, its ability to change man's vision of the world. Philopirio pushes this further with his own description of wine's effect, speaking as if the discussion of wine itself has inspired a ferment of images in his brain:

> it is not only in the power of this Vegetable to make the Slave fancy himself to be free, the Poor to be Rich, the Old Young, and the Miserable Happy; but it likewise actually mends visible Imperfections; renders the Infirm Strong, the Decrepit Nimble, and the Stammerer Eloquent; and what neither *Circe*'s nor *Medea*'s Art could ever perform; turns Vices into Virtues, and by the Charm of it, the Coward, the Covetous, the Proud, and the Morose become Valiant, Generous, Affable, and good Humour'd.[107]

Wine and its power to ferment images in the mind stands as a summary of the main lesson of the *Treatise* that fictions pervade medical discourse, our personal lives and our image of ourselves in society. Mandeville celebrates these fictions but argues that we must understand that we are living among fictions before we benefit from them. The role of the physician is essentially to help his patient understand the nature of these fictions and digest them in a balanced, nutritious manner. As early as the first dialogue Philopirio states that

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106 Mandeville, *Treatise* 272. The English translation is taken from Horace, *Satires and Epistles*, trans. Niall Rudd, ed. Betty Radice (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973) 139.

107 Mandeville, *Treatise* 272.

> every Physician, that would discharge his Conscience, ought as much, as he can in his private Capacity, to supply the neglect of the Publick, and wholly apply himself to the study of one Distemper only.[108]

The physician must make each patient aware of the importance of personal health for the benefit of the commonwealth and each physician must himself be aware of the social responsibility involved in the treatment of patient's private problems. The discourse of public and private will be the subject of Mandeville's next major work, *The Fable of the Bees*, in which he will investigate the relationships between the physical body and the operations of society in much more detail.

To end the *Treatise*, however, he leaves the reader with a puzzle. Misomedon thanks Philopirio for his visits and claims that the sessions have certainly begun to help him:

> *Misom.*: By your Means, I believe, I shall be brought at last to forsake a Remedy, that to my Fancy has hitherto always reliev'd me.
> *Phil.*: What is that? Wine?
> *Misom.*: No: It is what no Physician ever prescribed to his Patient, at least not heartily ---- *(c) Non audeo eloqui. Divina.*
> *Phil.*: *(d) Non mea est Divinatio; Philopirio sum, non Oedipus. (e) Estne quid obscœni?*
> *Misom.*: (a) Nihil minus, attamen fateri pudet: dicam in aurem.
> *Phil.*: *(b) Vetus hoc est:* Novo Medico *gaudet omnes Hypochondriaci: sed quod remedium credis flagitare symptoma morbi est.*
> *Misom.*: *(c) Ergo tuum est tollere; qua in re quæso ut advigiles.*

[108] Mandeville, *Treatise* 40.

> *Phil.: (d) Desine: Præscriptiones nostræ hoc tibi cim cæteris effectum dabunt, & si faveant conatibus superi, neque ipse desis, propediem pancratice valebis.*[109]

It is impossible to know what exactly Misomedon is referring to in these lines? Does he want to take a mistress? Is he referring to masturbation? Has he declared love for Philopirio? Just as Mandeville left his readers with an unfinished tale at the end of *The Virgin Unmask'd* he leaves the *Treatise* in a state of uncertainty. For the reader it is a final puzzle to interpret. It also reminds us of the limits and dangers of interpretation, while making us conscious both of our instinctive desire for certain knowledge and the impossibility of achieving certainty when we do not have enough facts to do so. The suspension of knowledge which informs the dialogic method is again the final lesson for Mandeville's readers as they set the book aside.

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[109] Mandeville, *Treatise* 279-80. Mandeville translates the Latin as follows in the 1730 edition: *(c) I dare not speak it out. Guess. (d) Divination is not my Business. I am* Philopirio, *not* Oedipus. This latter is an allusion to a Passage in *Terence. (e) Is it something that is smutty? (a) Nothing less, yet I am ashamed to own it: I'll whisper it to you. (b) That's old. All Hpochondriacal People are delighted with a new Physician. But to long for what you take to be a Remedy, is a Symptom of the Disease. (c) Therefore it is your Business to remove it: In which Affair I desire you to take great Care. (d) Say no more. My Prescriptions will among others have this effect; and with the Blessing of God and your own Endeavours, you'll be well and lusty in a little Time.*

DONNA giouane, armata, tenga con la deſtra mano vna ſpada ignuda, & col braccio ſiniſtro vna rotella in mezo della quale ui ſia dipinto vn riccio ſpinoſo. Giouane ſi dipinge per eſſere la giouentù per lo vigore atta à difendersi ad ogni incontro, l'armatura, e la ſpada, dimoſtrano l'attioni non ſolo difenſiue, ma anco d'offendere altrui biſognando. Gli ſi da la rotella per ſegno di difeſa, come narra Pier. Valeriano lib. quadrageſimo primo, & il riccio, gli Egittii lo metteuano per Ieroglifico della difeſa, & dimoſtrauano per eſſo vn'huomo che ſia ſicuro dall'inſidie, & pericoli, & da tutti i caſi di fortuna, imperoche queſto animale toſto che ſente l'odore delle fiere che lo cercono, ò il latrar de cani ſi raccoglie tutto in vn gruppo tondo, è ritiratoſi il muſo, & li piedi dalla parte di dentro à guiſa, che fanno le teſtudine, & tutta la ſua ſchiena à modo d'vna palla ridotta in vn globo ritondo, & per ſua difeſa, & ſaluezza hauendo drizzate le ſpine delle quali egli è da ogni parte ripieno, E ſe ne ſtà ſicuro rendendoſi formidabile à qualunque toccar lo voleſſi.

DIGESTIONE.

DONNA di robuſta compleſſione, tenga la mano dritta ſopra vno Struzzo, ſia incoronata di puleggio, & porti nella mano ſiniſtra vna pianta di Condrillo. Senza dubbio le compleſſioni robuſte ſono più facili à digirire, che le delicate, onde lo Struzzo per la ſua robuſtezza, & calidità digeriſce anco il ferro. Il puleggio dice Santo Iſidoro che da gli Indiani è più ſtimato del pepe, atteſo che riſcalda, purga, & fa digerire. Il Condrillo è vna pianta che hà il fuſto minore d'vn piede, & le foglie che paiono dentro roſigate intorno, & hà la radice ſimile alla faua, queſta vale alla digeſtione, ſecondo riferiſce Plinio, per autorità di Doroteo Poeta nel libr. 22. cap. 22. oue dice *Dorotheus ſtomaco, & concoctionibus vtilem, carminibus ſuis prodentibus.*

DIGNI-

Figure 14. Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Padua, 1618) 138.

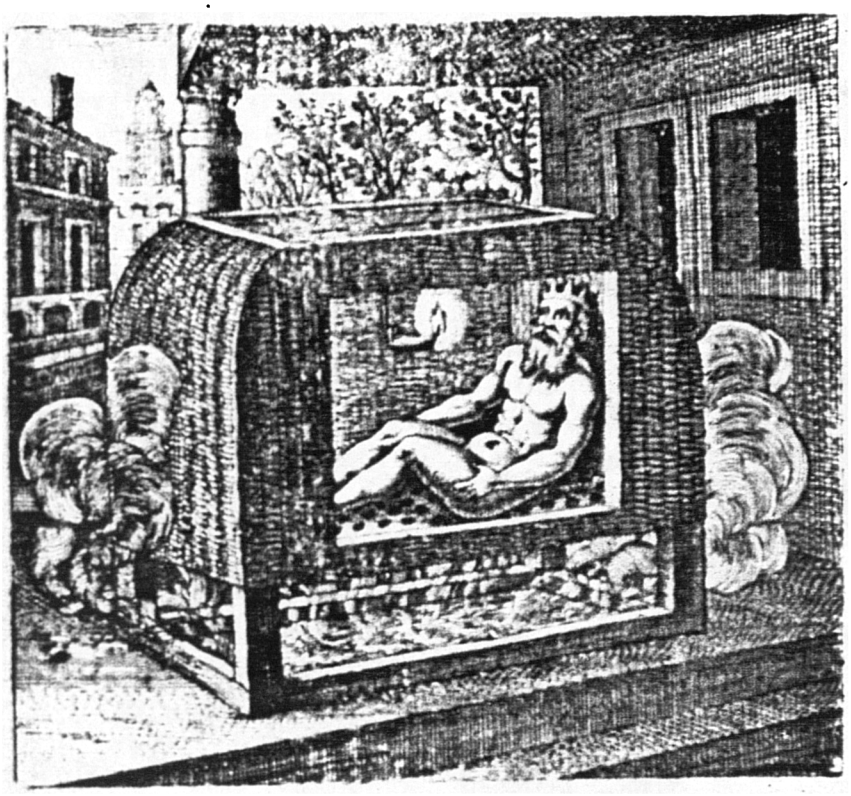
Figure 15. Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Venice, 1669) 149.

Figure 16. Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia, or Moral Emblems* (London, 1709) 22.

Figure 17. Jean Baptiste Boudard, *Iconologie* (Vienna, 1766) 157.

EMBLEMA XXVIII. *De ſecretis Naturæ.*

Rex balneatur in Laconico ſedens, atrâque bile liberatur à Pharut.



EPIGRAMMA XXVIII.

Rex Duenech (viridis cui fulgent arma Leonis)
Bile tumens rigidis moribus uſus erat.
Hinc Pharut ad ſeſe medicum vocat, ille ſalutem
Spondet, & aërias fonte miniſtrat aquas:
His lavat & relavat, vitreo ſub fornice, donec,
Rore madenti omnis bilis abacta fuit.

Figure 18. Michael Maier, *Atalanta Fugiens* (Oppenheim, 1618) Emblem XXVIII.

Figure 19. Jacob Bornitz, *Emblematum Ethico-Politicorum* (Heidelberg, 1664) 48.

Figure 20. Jan Theodor de Bry, *Emblemata Saecularia* (Frankfurt, 1596) 65.

Figure 21. Peter Rollo, *Le Centre de L'Amour* (Paris, 1690) 50.

Chapter Five: This Golden Dream

In 1714 Mandeville published what is now regarded as his most important work - *The Fable of the Bees.* The book reprinted his 1705 poem 'The Grumbling Hive' and this work was supplemented by a preface, an introduction, an essay called 'An Enquiry into the Origin of Moral Virtue' and twenty prose 'Remarks' labelled alphabetically. The notoriety of the *Fable* only gained ground when it was reprinted in 1723 with the addition of 'An Essay on Charity-Schools' and 'A Search in the Nature of Society'. The timing of the 1723 edition co-incided with a growing philanthropical movement and a general sense of unease in society following the investigations into the South Sea Bubble disaster. The *Fable* was seen to promote corruption in this context and Mandeville, almost immediately, became one of the most controversial and reviled authors of the period. He spent the rest of his life defending the work but the provocative and playful nature of his defence only fuelled the anxiety he had touched on in the *Fable*. After his death, his reputation became fixed in eighteenth-century minds as that of Pope's 'Mandevil', the author of a book forbidden to all but the depraved.[1]

By the twentieth century, Mandeville was known only for the *Fable* and his other works were either forgotten or considered only as footnotes to his major work. Despite this narrow focus on the *Fable*, however, the book remained the subject of constant

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[1] Alexander Pope, "The Dunciad," Bk . II, ll. 414 *Collected Poems*, ed. Bonamy Dobrée (London: J. M. Dent, 1983) 148.

argument. Because the work ostensibly focuses on society and the ethics of economic behaviour it is still primarily considered as either a philosophical tract or a textbook of eighteenth-century economics. Little attention has been paid to Mandeville's style, his previous works or his ideas on medicine, reading or the process of thinking. Much of the economic works on the *Fable* has debated whether Mandeville was an advocate of government intervention or a proponent of laissez-faire.[2] Philosophical criticism has often focused on the question of Mandeville's moral beliefs - was he a virtue-seeking rigorist or a tongue-in-cheek libertine? Neither group have been able to resolve these questions, finding their analyses undercut by the paradoxical twists of the *Fable*. More recently, there has been a growing awareness of Mandeville's subtle analysis of the nature of consumer societies.[3]

What still remains unexamined, however, is the use of paradox in the *Fable*, the role of literary style in the arguments if the work and the importance of Mandeville's medical ideas in the creation of the text. Taken within the context of *The Virgin Unmask'd* and *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions*, the *Fable* can be seen as the culmination of a trilogy in which Mandeville explores the role of the body in the creation of personal relationships, the identity of the self and the formation of a social order. Having examined the need to create and be aware of identity

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[2] The most recent of a large corpus is Salim Rashid, "Mandeville's *Fable*: Laissez-faire or Libertinism?," *Eighteenth Century Studies* 18 (1985): 313-30. A full list of criticism of Mandeville's work is given in the bibliography.

[3] John Brewer, Neil McKendrick, and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Europa Publications, 1982).

in public through the education of Antonia, he delved into the problems of creating a personal image of the self in the *Treatise*. Both texts raised questions on the issues of seeing and imitating. Furthermore, Mandeville elaborated a detailed and pervasive theory of digestion and consumerism.

In *The Fable of the Bees*, then, all of these issues are set in the broader context of a prosperous society at the heart of a new empire. Digestion and consumerism remain a primary concern as Mandeville begins his examination of a consumer society. Just as Philopirio diagnosed the condition of his patient, Misomedon, so Mandeville sets about composing the case history of eighteenth-century London. In doing this, the metaphor of the body politic is allowed the full force of its material and physical connotations in the *Fable*.

Two aspects of Mandeville's medical background come to the fore immediately in the opening remarks of his preface to this work. The first is his interest in microscopes and the miniscule animal spirits which, he argues in the *Treatise*, determine the process of thinking and seeing. The second is his anatomical training at the University of Leiden where dissection and morality were always linked:

> Laws and Government are to the Political Bodies of Civil Societies, what the Vital Spirits and Life it self are to the Natural Bodies of Animated Creatures; and as those that study the Anatomy of Dead Carkasses may see, that the chief Organs and nicest Springs more immediately required to continue the Motion of our Machine, are nor hard Bones, strong Muscles and Nerves, nor the smooth white Skin that so beautifully covers them, but small

> trifling Films and little Pipes that are either overlook'd, or else seem inconsiderable to Vulgar Eyes; so they that examine into the Nature of Man, abstract from Art and Education, may observe, that what renders him a Sociable Animal, consists not in his desire of Company, good Nature, Pity, Affability, and other Graces of a fair Outside; but that his vilest and most hateful Qualities are the most necessary Accomplishments to fit him for the largest, and according to the World, the happiest and most flourishing Societies.[4]

The 'trifling Films and little Pipes' are the discoveries of the microscope, though here it is the body politic that comes under the scrutiny of the lens. Mandeville is making it plain that the body politic is about to be dissected and that the reader must be prepared to peer into the squirming guts of the 'Sociable Animal'. Just as in Leiden, the dissections will take place in an emblematic theatre where the reader's gaze at society's workings will be moralised.

Already, in the opening paragraph, Mandeville's preface has begun to prepare the reader for a surprising and demanding text. The reader is to play the role of anatomist, uncovering the 'vilest' qualities of man. The sense of play predominates as Mandeville goes on to describe the text of the *Fable*, a work that appears to defy description. Although he published 'The Grumbling Hive' in 1705, he claims it was immediately 'Pyrated' and 'cry'd about the Streets in a Half-penny Sheet'.[5] Having gone so far without his permission, it was constantly misunderstood by readers that,

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[4] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 3-4.

[5] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 4.

'either wilfully or ignorantly mistaking the Design', attacked it as a corrupt work. Mandeville then attempts to define the poem and its aims:

> This made me resolve..some way or another to inform the Reader of the real Intent this little Poem was wrote with. I do not dignify these few loose Lines with the Name of Poem, that I would have the Reader expect any Poetry in them, but barely because they are Rhime, and I am in reallity puzled what name to give them; for they are neither Heroick nor Pastoral, Satyr, Burlesque nor Heroi-comick; to be a Tale they want Probablility, and the whole is rather too long for a Fable. All I can say of them is, that they are a Story told in Dogrel, which without the least design of being witty, I have endeavour'd to do in as easy and familiar a Manner as I was able: The Reader shall be welcome to call them what he pleases. 'Twas said of *Montagne*, that he was pretty well vers'd in the Defects of Mankind, but unacquainted with the Excellencies of Humane Nature: If I fare no worse, I shall think my self well used.[6]

The amorphous, chameleon-like *Fable* eludes Mandeville's description. It may be a failed poem, a failed fable or a failed story but it is the reader who is going to have to attempt any final definition. The exaggerated modesty in this introduction raises suspicions immediately. As usual in his prefaces, Mandeville is signalling the start of a series of trials for the reader. In this paragraph alone it is possible to begin unravelling his various allusions and rhetorical strategies. His reference to 'The Grumbling Hive' as 'neither Heroick nor Pastoral, Satyr, Burlesque nor Heroi-comick' alludes to a speech by Polonius in Act II, Scene II of *Hamlet*. Describing the troupe who will perform the 'play

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[6] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 4-5.

within a play' he says they are

> The best actors in the world, either for tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral, pastoral-comical, historical-pastoral, tragical-historical,tragical-comical-historical-pastoral, scene individable, or poem unlimited. Seneca cannot be too heavy, nor Plautus too light. For the law of writ and the liberty, these are the only men.[7]

Polonius was here attempting to humour the melancholy Hamlet. For Mandeville, the prince would be a study in hypochondria but in 'The Grumbling Hive' and the *Fable* his patient is eighteenth-century society and he is pointing to a cure in his literary ~~work~~. His later allusion to Montaigne can be traced to Pierre Bayle's *Miscellaneous Reflections, Occasion'd by the Comet* (1708) where it is stated that

> *Montagne*, of whom Messieurs *de Port Royal*, who are none of his best Friends, are pleas'd to observe, that having never understood the Dignity of Human Nature, he was well enough acquainted with its Defects.[8]

Finally, imbedded in the centre of the paragraph there is an allusion to his first book of translations - *Some Fables after the Easie and Familiar Method of Monsieur de la Fontaine.* In the preface to that work, Mandeville had underscored the imitative nature of the fable tradition where origins were elided as tales moved from author to author. There, too, he dismissed any notions that his works were of

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[7] William Shakespeare, *Hamlet* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980) 115.

[8] Pierre Bayle, *Miscellaneous Reflections, Occasion'd by the Comet* 2 vols. (London, 1708): 1: 97-98.

value and stressed his attempts to make them palatable to his readers - a feature of all his prefaces.

In the *Fable*, however, Mandeville already knows how difficult it will be for readers to digest his ideas and so he instead argues that his work is designed to explain a recipe,

> The Satyr therefore to be met with in the following Lines upon the several Professions and Callings...was not made to injure and point to particular Persons, but only to shew the Vileness of the Ingredients that all together compose the wholesome Mixture of a well order'd Society.[9]

Mandeville's constant desire for his reader to accept the adage 'Know Thyself' is also admitted to be an aim of the Fable, though it is approached, as usual, through a claim to write simply for the reader's diversion:

> If you ask me why I have done all this, *cui bono*? And what Good these Notions will produce; truly besides the reader's Diversions, I believe none at all; but if I was ask'd what Naturally ought to be expected from 'em, I wou'd answer, That in the first Place the People, who continually find fault with others, by reading them, would be taught to look at home, and examining their own Consciences, be made asham'd of always railing at what they are...guilty of themselves.[10]

Any sense of a virtuous campaign are quashed by his declaration that no good will come of reading the *Fable* even if self-knowledge

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[9] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 6.

[10] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 8.

is achieved. He believes the betterment of mankind is not the issue at stake in his work but that self-knowledge will lead to a greater understanding of the political structures of the British empire. This is no mere philosophical exercise at the level of theory alone. The *Fable* begins by promising the reader vileness and the preface ends with a blunt portrayal of London's squalid streets, arguing that they can be appreciated as a sign of the country's prosperity:

> if we mind the Materials of all sorts that must supply such an infinite number of Trades and Handicrafts, as are always going forward; the vast quantity of Victuals, Drink and Fewel that are daily consum'd in it, and the Waste and Superfluities that must be produc'd from them; the multitudes of Horses and other Cattle that are always dawbing the Streets, the Carts, Coaches and more heavy Carriages that are perpetually wearing and breaking the Pavement of them, and above all the numberless swarms of People that are continually harrassing and trampling through every part of them. If, I say, we mind all these, we shall find that every Moment must produce new Filth, and considering how far distant the great Streets are from the River side, what Cost and Care soever be bestow'd to remove the Nastiness almost as fast as 'tis made, it is impossible *London* should be more cleanly before it is less flourishing.[11]

Mandeville is at pains here to stress the physicality of the world around us and, in particular, the tangible nature of so much of prosperity. The shock of the anatomical metaphor in his opening paragraph is carried through in his celebration of the city's filth. Both passages serve to remind the reader of Man's animal qualities.

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[11] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 11-12.

The opening paragraph chose to compare the body politic and Man's nature to the 'Anatomy of Dead Carkasses' rather than dead humans. In the description of London, Mandeville dwells on the 'numberless swarms of People' preparing the reader for 'The Grumbling Hive' and reducing Man to an insect. This technique of comparing man and animal reinforces the importance of Mandeville's original conflation of man and bee in 1705. Having rejected the Cartesian reading of the bee-hive which he had promoted in *De Operationibus Brutorum*, he instead played on the animal physicality of man in which physical characteristics determine his 'sociable' nature.

Following the Preface, Mandeville reproduces the text of 'The Grumbling Hive' in full. The only amendment to this text is the insertion of letters in brackets after certain lines. Passages marked in this way are later singled out as headings for a series of 'Remarks'. The poem is then followed by a brief 'Introduction', which is no more than one paragraph. In it Mandeville claims he will tell people what they are saying

> *I believe Man (besides Skin, Flesh, Bones, &c that are obvious to the Eye) to be a compound of various Passions.*[12]

Again man is defined in physical terms as the 'Passions' are determined by the various states of the body. Just as in the Treatise Mandeville proclaimed the physician's duty to be the return of man to the condition of grace he enjoyed before he gained Knowledge in the Garden of Eden, here he states

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[12] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 39

> *I have thought fit to enquire, how Men no better qualify'd, might yet by his own Imperfections be taught to distinguish between Virtue and Vice: And here I must desire the Reader once for all to take notice, that when I say Men, I mean neither* Jews *nor* Christians*; but meer Man, in the State of Nature and Ignorance of the true Deity.*[13]

Man, here, has fallen from grace but has not yet experienced the revelation of God. By stripping the reader of this additional layer of civilization, it becomes easier for Mandeville to pursue his metaphor of man as animal. In the essay following the 'Introduction', 'An Enquiry into the Origin of Moral Virtue', he quietly presses home this advantage as he opens the question of man's virtue with a statement which leaves no doubt that he is dealing with a member of the animal kingdom:

> All untaught Animals are only Sollicitous of pleasing themselves, and naturally follow the bent of their own Inclinations, without considering the good or harm that from their being pleased will accrue to others. This is the Reason, that in the will State of Nature those Creatures are fittest to live peaceably together in great Numbers, that discover the least of Understanding, and have the fewest Appetites to gratify, and consequently no Species of Animals is without the Curb of Government, less capable of agreeing long together in Multitudes than that of Man; yet such are his Qualities, whether good or bad, I shall not determine, that no Creature besides himself can ever be made sociable: But being an extraordinary selfish and headstrong as well as cunning Animal, however he may be subdued by superior Strength, it is impossible by force alone to make him

[13] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 40.

> tractable, and receive the Improvements he is capable of.[14]

This is an uncompromising vision of man as animal, at best a creature that can be trained. The key word in this passage for the training of man is 'appetites'. Like all animals man's every action is determined by his appetites and by teaching him to curb, sublimate or disguise these desires a sociable creature is formed. The primary tool in this training is man's pride 'in Man, the most perfect of Animals, it is...inseparable from his very essence'.

In the 'Remarks', which form the main body of the *Fable*, Mandeville elaborates his vision of man as animal and through persistent references to the physical animality of human life he underscores the presence of the body in all society's emerging networks of power. In doing this he makes the relationship between the passions and the body even more explicit than he had suggested in the earlier 'Enquiry'. Discussing the passions of pride and shame, for example, in 'Remark (C)' he states

> That these two Passions, in which the Seeds of most Vertues are contained, are reallities in our frame and not imaginary Qualities, is demonstrable from the plain and different effects, that in spight of our Reason are produced in us as soon as we are affected with either.[15]

This is a much more direct declaration of the physical roots of the passions. It is followed, however, by a brief portrait of a man

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[14] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 41-42.

[15] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 67.

experiencing shame. The issues of portraiture and ways of seeing which Mandeville explored in the *Treatise* dominate this verbal picture. The detailed observation of each physical response blurs the boundaries between the depiction of the passions and the recording of a case history:

> When a Man is overwhelm'd with Shame, he observes a sinking of the Spirits, the Heart feels cold and condensed, and the Blood flies from it to the Circumference of the Body; the Face glows, the Neck and part of the Breast partake of the Fire: He is heavy as Lead; the Head is hung down; and the Eyes through a Mist of Confusion, are fix'd on the Ground: No Injuries can move him; he is weary of his Being, and heartily wishes he could make himself invisible: but when, gratifying his Vanity, he exults in his Pride he discovers quite contrary Symptoms: His Spirits swell and fan the Arterial Blood, a more than ordinary warmth strengthens and dilates the Heart; the extremities are cool; he feels light to himself, and imagines he could tread on Air; his Head is held up, his Eyes rowl'd about with Sprightliness; he rejoyces at his Being, is prone to Anger, and would be glad that all the world could take Notice of him.[16]

Medical discourse determines this description with its references to 'Symptoms', 'Arterial Blood' and 'a sinking of the Spirits'. The sensitivity shown to every aspect of the body's condition is reminiscent of Misomedon's hyper-awareness of his own physicality in the *Treatise*. There, as in the *Fable*, Mandeville the doctor is trying to make his reader understand what is occurring in the body. Moral judgement is absent in his dissection of the passions, forcing the reader to focus instead on the biological

[16] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 67-68.

impulses which influence actions. In 'Remark (R)', for example, courage is defined solely in physical terms,

> what the greatest Heroe differs in from the rankest Coward, is altogether Corporeal, and depends upon the inward make of Man. What I mean is call'd Constitution; by which is understood the orderly or disorderly mixture of the *Fluids* in our body: That Constitution which favours Courage, consists in the natural Strength, Elasticity, and due Contexture of the finer Spirits, and upon them wholly depends what we call Stedfastness, Resolution and Obstinacy...That Resolution depends upon this Tone of the Spirits, appears likewise from the effects of strong Liquors, the fiery Particles whereof crowding into the Brain, strengthen the Spirits...The Contexture of Spirits is so weak in some, that tho' they have Pride enough, no Art can ever make them fight or overcome their Fears; but this is a Defeat in the Principle of the *Fluids*, as other Deformities are faults of the *Solids*.[17]

Again medical discourse is the determining factor though the description makes the physical origins of virtues even more explicit. The operations of the animal spirits which Mandeville outlined in the second dialogue of the *Treatise* have become central to his explanation of the formation of a society.

The insistence of the use of medical terms and Mandeville's constant denigration of man to the level of beast serves another function. As with Misomedon, the hypochondriac, the reader of the *Fable* is afflicted with pride. The most deeply ingrained conviction of mankind is that it is a fine, moral race far above the animal kingdom. Mankind believes itself to be composed of 'sublime

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[17] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 211-212.

Creatures...Creatures, that free from sordid Selfishness, esteem'd the Improvements of the Mind to be their fairest Possessions'. This belief is so deeply held that it is impossible for society's physician to cultivate an understanding of the body's role in social life until it is badly shaken. The medical references and animal allusions, then, act as a therapy in themselves, wearing down the reader's belief in the sublimity of mankind.

At this level, however, such methods cannot succeed in making Mandeville's point. Society's acceptance of the authority of medical discourse imbues his description of shame and courage with a certain rationality which itself could be mistaken for proof of mankind's higher qualities. Mandeville also has to shock the reader into an awareness of man's savage, irrational dimensions, eliciting a genuine sense of disgust. His prose, in the terms laid out in the *Treatise*, must manipulate the images presented to the reader's animal spirits. The various disposition of images arranged by these volatile messengers must buckle the order of the brain and induce nausea in the stomach. To achieve this, Mandeville adopts a two-fold strategy. Firstly, his images are often designed deliberately to shock and disgust. Secondly, he uses various prose styles as masks, presenting a range of voices which are frequently vicious or irrational. By using such masks he can find voices in which to degrade mankind as much as possible while denying readers, in their pride, any opportunity to claim the author as a model of the rational thinker. His comments on envy demonstrate this technique:

> Envy is visible in Brute Beasts; Horses shew it in their Endeavours of out-stripping one another; and the best spirited will run themselves to Death before they'll suffer another before them. In Dogs this passion is likewise plainly to be seen, those who are used to be caress'd will never tamely bear that Felicity in others. I have seen a Lap-dog that would choak himself with Victuals rather than leave any thing for a Competitor of his own Kind, and we may often observe the same Behaviour in those creatures which we daily see in Infants that are froward, and by being overfondl'd made humoursome.[18]

This detailed compendium of animal's envy neatly manages to degrade mankind by appending children to the end of the description. Mandeville's decision to add children rather than adults helps to deflate the reader's pride. The list descends in size from horses through lap-dogs to infants and the passage is, however, a relatively benign example of Mandeville's strategy. Adults are portrayed as more vicious than children because their pride is fully developed and, consequently, so is their hypocrisy. Discussing the use of clothes as ornaments for human vanity, Mandeville reduces the flaunting triumphalism of fashion to the savage paradigm of 'the Hottentots on the furthest Promontory of *Africk*, who adorn themselves with the Guts of their dead enemies'.[19] The element of revulsion is increased as he focuses more intensely on man's aggression and creates what he later describes as his 'Scheme of Deformity'.[20] This 'Scheme' portrays a dark world of horrors where the reader may 'see Good spring up,

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[18] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 137.

[19] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 127.

[20] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 2: 32.

and pullulate from Evil, as naturally as Chickens do from Eggs.'[21]

The most disturbing aspect of these descriptions for the reader is the complicity involved in reading them. Having declared in the opening lines that the book would anatomize society, Mandeville has led his readers through a nightmarish series of dissections while teaching how to perform such surgery. In a series of anatomical sessions his voice modulates from that of the familiar, rational and objective voice of science to an unnerving, manic and savage echo of the devil.

The culmination of this rhetoric occurs in a long set piece towards the end of the Fable in 'Remark (P)'. The Remark traces man's development of luxury from his early simple needs through to the multiplication of his desires as civilization progresses. The prose begins as a model of polite and rational discourse:

> If we trace the most flourishing Nations in their Origin, we shall find that in the remote Beginnings of every Society, the richest and most considerable Men among them were a great while destitute of a great many Comforts of Life that are now enjoy'd by the meanest and most humble Wretches.[22]

It is a happy and reasonable vision of early mankind before technical progress and the age of rampant consumerism when man 'without doubt, fed on the Fruits of the Earth, without any previous Preparation'.[23]

As Mandeville charts the gradual explosion of mankind's desires

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[21] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 91.

[22] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 169.

[23] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 169.

he records man's eating habits and attitudes to food. Sophisticated preparation of food and drink soon supersede the earlier vegetarian state:

> The Arts of Brewing and making Bread, have by slow degrees been brought to the Perfection they now are in, but to have invented them at once, and a priori would have required more Knowledge and a deeper Insight into the Nature of Fermentation, than the greatest Philosopher has hitherto been endowed with; yet the Fruits of both are now enjoy'd by the meanest of our Species.[24]

From the apparently innocuous arts of brewing and bread-making, mankind quickly descends to eating animal flesh, an unnatural act which gained acceptance through the repetition of custom:

> I have often thought, if it was not for this Tyranny which Custom usurps over us, that Men of any tollerable good Nature could never be reconcil'd to the killing of so may Animals for their daily Food, as long as the bountiful Earth so plentifully provides them with varieties of vegetable Dainties. I know that Reason excites our Compassion but faintly, and therefore I would not wonder how Men should so little commiserate such imperfect Creatures as Cray fish, Oysters, Cockles, and indeed fish in general...But in such perfect Animals as Sheep and Oxen, in whom the Heart, the Brain and Nerves differ so little from ours, and in whom the Separation of the Spirits from the Blood, the Organs of Sense, and consequently Feeling itself, are the same as they are in Human Creatures, I can't imagine how a Man not hardened in Blood and Massacre, is able to see a violent Death, and the Pangs of it, without Concern.[25]

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[24] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 170-71.

[25] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 173.

The polite and reasonable vision of man begins to crumble in this passage. The noun 'Tyranny' immediately darkens the tone and is reinforced by 'usurps' and 'killing'. Reason struggles to discover a rational explanation for man's flesh-eating but can find none. Medical discourse again dominates the description of the 'perfect Animals' implying that man is himself an animal and therefore a cannibal. By the final lines of the passage man has become a butcher capable of slaughter and massacre. As Mandeville explores the implications of this increasingly savage vision, he again emphasizes the potential brutality of the physician. Surgeons, like butchers, he claims are forbidden from jury duty because the suffering they face on a daily basis have inured them so much to pain that they cannot act compassionately.

Sensing that his readers may be elaborating rational barriers to distance themselves from the actual slaughter of animals, Mandeville employs a new and compelling rhetorical strategy. He drops his analysis of society entirely claiming the readers may be tired of it and that this Remark has run its course unless they wanted to run through a brief, diverting fable:

> I shall urge nothing of what *Pythagoras* and many other Wise Men have said concerning this Barbarity of eating Flesh; I have gone too much out of my way already, and shall therefore beg the Reader, if he would have any more of this, to run over the following Fable, or else, if he be tired, to let it alone, with an assurance that in doing of either he shall equally oblige me.[26]

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[26] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 175-76.

Mandeville knows such off-handedness is bound to secure an audience, particularly as he has promised a fable. For the reader this can only appear as relief from the increasingly gory portrait of man which was being painted in the previous passages. The fable immediately suggests a diversion, a light and 'easie' tale in a palatable style.

Within the context of 'Remark (P)', however, the fable can raise more problems than it evades. Fables place man squarely in the animal kingdom, in world where animals can act and speak in the same way as humans. After Mandeville's litany of man's flesh-eating habits, the reader must enter the fable with caution. The tale is of a shipwrecked merchant, his slave and a lion. The slave, on seeing the lion, takes refuge in a tree. The merchant instead throws himself on the lion's mercy. In an echo of his early book of fables Mandeville says of the lion that

> It happened to be one of the Breed that ranged in *Æsop's* Days, and one that could not only speak several Languages, but seem'd moreover very well acquainted with Human Affairs.[27]

As the lion has just eaten it is prepared to listen to the merchant's arguments for sparing his life. The merchant bases his defence on the very issues which Mandeville dealt with in his Leiden disputation *De Operationibus Brutorum* (1689):

> Oh Vain and Covetous Animal, (*said the Lyon*)...why should you esteem your Species above ours? And if the Gods have given you a superiority over all Creatures,

[27] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 176.

> then why beg you of an Inferior? *Our Superiority* (answer'd the Merchant) *consists not in bodily force but strength of Understanding; the Gods have endued us with a rational Soul, which, tho' invisible, is much the better part of us.*[28]

The lion remains unmoved by such an argument and instead replies with a statement informed by Mandeville's *De Chylosi Vitiata.*

> 'Tis only Man, mischeivous Man, that can make Death a Sport, Nature taught your Stomach to crave nothing but vegetable; but your violent fondness to change, and greater eagerness after Novelties, have prompted you to the Destruction of Animals without Justice or necessity, perverted your nature and warp'd your Appetites which way soever your Pride or Luxury have call'd them. The Lyon has a ferment within him that consumes the toughest skin and hardest Bones as well as the Flesh of all Animals without exception: Your squeamish Stomach, in which the digestive heat is weak and inconsiderable, won' so much as admit of the most tender Parts of them, unless above half the Concoction has been perform'd by artificial Fire before hand; and yet what Animal have you spared to satisfy the Caprices of a languid Appetite?[29]

Mandeville's animals have themselves become doctors and anatomists, imbuing the potential refuge of the genre with all the carnage of the earlier prose. Having seduced his readers into a world of creatures, Mandeville allows the animals to dissect them. The lion concludes that as man defers to no superiority he will imitate them and not defer to the merchant's reasoning. Faced with such Hobbesian views the merchant faints. Mandeville spares his

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[28] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 176-77.

[29] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 178-79.

readers the denouement but, as usual, this rescue only heralds an even worse fate. Concluding 'Remark (P)', the reader is plunged into the full horror of slaughter:

> The Lyon, in my Opinion, has stretch'd the Point too far; yet when to soften the Flesh of Male Animals, we have by Castration prevented the firmness their tendons and every Fibre would have come to without it, I confess I think it ought to move a human Creature when he reflects upon the cruel care with which they are fatned for Destruction. When a large and gentle Bullock, after having resisted a ten times greater force of Blows than would have kill'd his Murderer, falls stun'd at last, and his arm'd Head is fasten'd to the Ground with Cords; as soon as the side Wound is made, and the Jugulars are cut asunder, what Mortal can without Compassion hear the painful Bellowings intercepted by his Blood, the bitter Sighs that speak the sharpness of his Anguish, and the deep sounding Groans with loud anxiety fetch'd from the bottom of his strong and palpitating Heart? Look on the trembling and violent Convulsions of his Limbs, see, whilst his reeking Gore streams from him, his Eyes become dim and languid, and behold his struglings, Gasps and last efforts for Life, the certain Signs of his approaching fate? When a Creature has given such convincing and undeniable Proofs of the Terrors upon him and the Pains and Agonies he feels, is there a follower of *Descartes* so inur'd to Blood as not to refute, by his Commiseration, the Philosophy of that vain reasoner?[30]

This is Mandeville's most explicit rejection of Descartes and of his own work in *De Operationibus Brutorum.* It is also the culmination of his attempts to demonstrate that the passions are the product of the physical processes of the human body. By constantly stressing anatomy and dissection as a means of investigation

[30] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 180-81.

Mandeville has cleverly brought man's physical nature to the fore. In the passage above he links it to butchery in order to undermine any rational authority the anatomist may have and also to elicit a sense of nausea in the reader. His description of the bullock's slaughter is intentionally emotive. He demands that the reader, like an anatomy student, follows the entire process, constantly drawing the escaping viewer back through a series of imperatives 'hear...Look...see...behold'. Almost every noun is accompanied by an emotive adjective such as 'painful Bellowings', 'reeking Gore', 'bitter Sighs'.

When the passage is analysed it is evident just how melodramatic it is but, in its context where it follows a fable it becomes highly effective. The fable genre has drawn the reader into a world where lions can speak to men and debate whether it is right to kill a human. The immediate juxtaposition of the description of an animals slaughter undermines the playfulness of that word and intensifies the reader's sympathy with the bullock. This juxtaposition also draws attention to the apparent callousness of the author of 'Remark (P)' who is quite obvious in his manipulation of his readers as he plunges them into that final paragraph.

Just as 'Remark (P)' is vital to Mandeville's anatomy of the passions and their physical composition, it is also a good example of his stylistic strategies. Throughout *The Fable of the Bees* the anatomy of the passions is paralleled by a constant anatomy of the body of the text itself. All of Mandeville's work forces his readers into an active dialogue with the text before them, warning them of

his rhetorical cunning and his hidden agendas. The *Fable* is the most exhaustive example of this self-reflexive attitude. The full history of the text itself is the most telling comment on Mandeville's approach to the process of writing. 'The Grumbling Hive' is reproduced in 1714 with the surrounding prefaces, 'Remarks', and 'Introduction' and an 'Enquiry'. A 1723 edition expands the existing Remarks and adds entirely new ones. There is also an additional 'Essay on Charity-Schools' and a 'Search into the Nature of Society'. By 1724, Mandeville has appended 'A vindication of the Book' and 'an abusive Letter to Lord C'. In 1729 he published *The Fable of the Bees. Part II*, a series of six dialogues examining the arguments of Part I. Finally in 1732, a year before his death, he published *A letter to Dion* in which he defends the fable against Bishop Berkeley's attacks in *Alciphron*.[31] Mandeville's elucidation of his 1705 poem, then, spans a period of 27 years. Each stage of this 'elucidation' spawns new sets of paradoxes as he claims to unravel earlier puzzles.

This long anatomy destroys any sense of an overall structure which the body of 'The Grumbling Hive' had managed to create. Each line of the poem stimulates essays which in turn multiply while breaking down into a jumble of genres. Fictional characters are created to debate the merits of earlier characters in the *Fable* and, indeed, to discuss Mandeville himself. No over-arching scheme supports these works in a coherent frame and nothing is finally resolved. Within each consecutive work, however, there is a structuring, guiding principle - the rhyming couplet and the fable in

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31 Bishop Berkeley, *Alciphron; or, the Minute Philosopher* (London, 1732).

'The Grumbling Hive' or the dialogue in *The Fable of the Bees. Part II.* In each case this principle is subverted as Mandeville points to its self-conscious creation, using it as an example for his readers as he persuades them to dissect.

In the 1714 edition of the *Fable*, where the anatomy metaphors are most evident, Mandeville uses the genre of the emblem-book as a structuring principle. It has already been shown how he was influenced by the emblem structure in the dialogues of *The Virgin Unmask'd* and *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions.* In the *Fable*, however, Mandeville has abandoned the dialogue for a structure more obviously related to the emblem format. A typical emblem will have three parts - a motto, a picture and a commentary in either verse or prose. The relationship between these three elements is often enigmatic, forcing the reader to puzzle over their juxtaposition in order to elicit the moral of the emblem. At times the relationship between the three elements can be clearly seen, in which case the emblematist is generally using the image as a striking reminder of the moral point being put forward. This basic structure is often changed or elaborated but it remains a reliable guideline for most emblem-books.

In the *Fable*, Mandeville's 'Remarks' imitate this emblem format. The lines chosen from 'The Grumbling Hive' serves as a motto and the prose 'Remark' functions as an extended commentary on this motto. While Mandeville does not include any visual images he does include a verbal portrait or scene in each 'Remark'. The verse line, verbal picture, and prose analysis interact in a manner similar to

that of the emblem. The effect of this structure is to anatomize the textual body of 'The Grumbling Hive'. The poem appears in print with its lines already cut up and labelled, as in the following passage:

> (I.) The Root of Evil, Avarice,
> That damn'd ill-natur'd baneful Vice,
> Was Slave to Prodigality,
> (K.) That noble Sin; (L.) whilst Luxury
> Employ'd a Million of the Poor,
> (M.) And odious Pride a Million more:
> (N.) Envy it self, and Vanity,
> Were Ministers of Industry;[32]

The lines following each letter subsequently become epigraphs to each of the prose remarks in *The Fable of the Bees.* Remark I, for example, begins with the lines on prodigality and avarice. The prose 'Remark' follows, exploring the close relationship between the two vices and this commentary is illustrated by a brief verbal portrait of Florio, a spendthrift, his father, a miser, and Cornaro, a moneylender. The piece is then rounded off with a further interpretation of the moral question. This is the basic structure of all the prose 'Remarks' in the *Fable* and it provides a close correlation between anatomy and emblems which recalls the Leiden University anatomy theatre.

The Dutch influence is even more evident if the *Fable* is compared to an emblem-book published in 1711 by Jan Luyken called *De Bykorf des Gemoeds* (The Beehive of the Heart).[33]

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[32] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 25.

[33] Jan Luyken, *De Bykorf des Gemoeds* (Amsterdam, 1711).

Luyken was one of Holland's most popular emblematists at the end of the seventeenth century and his work continued to be republished throughout the following hundred years. There was a strong religious dimension to all his work and usually his emblems had a clear didactic moral (See figures 22-25). In general he preferred to use a title (such as 'Het Vat' - 'The Vat', or 'De Verhuizing' - 'The Removal') rather than a motto and his commentaries were often chosen from Biblical sources. His images were naturalistic and dealt with scenes of everyday life, eschewing the cherubs and arcana of other emblem books.

While it is impossible to tell if Mandeville knew of Luyken's *De Bykorf des Gemoeds*, he must certainly have been familiar with his other works and with the work of other Dutch emblem writers such as Jacob Cats. The emblem of the beehive is a common image in the work of these writers and is closely linked to the long tradition of using the hive as a metaphor for human society (see figures 26-29).[34] Mandeville's *Fable* resembles Luyken's work in that both books present modern culture as a beehive and divide their examination of this culture into a series of comments, each centred around a striking image. Luyken's naturalistic images are reflected in Mandeville's accurate portrayal of English middles class life in his verbal portraits and scenes. Here, the resemblance ends however. Luyken uses the image of the beehive to represent human society as hard-working, well-ordered and God-fearing. Mandeville uses the same image to represent society as a teeming

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[34] Andreas Alciati, *Emblematum Liber* (Leiden, 1550); Joachim Camerarius, *Symbolorum et Emblematum ex Volatilibus et Insectis* (Nuremburg, 1596); Peter Isselburg, *Emblemata Politica* (Nuremburg, 1617).

conglomeration of self-interested individuals who fail to recognize their own true nature.

An emblem book which may have had a direct influence on Mandeville's *Fable* is *The Royal Politician* by Diego de Saavedra Fajardo.[35] First published as *Idea de un principe politico Christiano* (Monaco, 1640) the book examines the art of politics, providing advice for a prince on the nature of a political state and how it should be ruled. Fajardo's emblems lack the naturalism of Luyken's but the advice offered on statecraft is an obvious descendant of Machiavelli's *The Prince* and, in that sense, closer to the spirit of the *Fable* (See figure 30-31).

Saavedra's emblem-book had been published in an English translation by J. Astry in 1700 in London. Dedicated to Queen Anne's 10 year old son William, Duke of Gloucester, it was presented as an education in the art of governing for the young prince, an aim reflected in its English title, *The Royal Politician.* Whig in its nature, it obviously hoped the young Duke of Gloucester would continue the succession established in the Glorious Revolution of 1688, but this hope was dashed when William, always a sickly child, died in July 1700. Mandeville, himself a Whig, and ostensibly a supporter of William of Orange, approved of *The Royal Politician*, and there are echoes of it in many of Lucinda's didactic examples in *The Virgin Unmask'd.* There are also similarities between Saavedra Fajardo's use of metaphor and that of Mandeville. In Emblem XXIII of *The Royal Politician*, the subscriptio opens by saying 'There are no greater Chymists than

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[35] Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, *The Royal Politician* 2 vols. (London, 1700).

Princes, who set a value upon worthless Trifles in bestowing them upon others as a Reward of Virtue'. And in Emblem LVI, on the use of a Secretary to the King, Saavedra describes the secretary's role as

> the Stomach, in which Affairs are digested, and if they come thence crude and ill concocted, the Life of the Government will be sickly and short.[36]

Later in the same subscriptio he also likens the secretary to an apothecary saying,

> Apothecaries have different Medicines prescrib'd by several Physicians, for several Diseases; but they'd be notoriously mistaken, if they should ignorantly apply them without a due Knowledge of the Causes whence they proceed, as also of the Constitution of the sick Person, the time, and other Circumstances; which Experience, Reason, and Speculation shall dictate.[37]

In these quotations there are echoes of the descriptions of Louis XIV in *The Virgin Unmask'd* and of the relationship between the biology of the individual and the well-being of the body of the Commonwealth which permeates the final dialogue of the *Treatise.*

Direct evidence of the influence of *The Royal Politician* on the *Fable* can be found in 'Remark (Q)' where Mandeville is discussing the effect of wealth on a nation. Using Spain as an example in his argument he writes

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[36] Saavedra Fajardo, 2: 42.

[37] Saavedra Fajardo, 2: 43.

> A Man would be laugh'd at by most People, who should maintain that too much Money could undo a Nation. Yet this has been the Fate of *Spain*; to this the learned Don *Diego Savedra* ascribes the Ruin of his Country. The Fruits of the earth in former Ages had made Spain so rich, that King *Lewis* XI. of *France* being come to the Court of *Toledo*, was astonish'd at its Splendour, and said, that he had never seen anything to be compar'd to it, either in *Europe* or *Asia*; he that in his Travels to the *Holy-Land* had run through every Province of them...But as soon as that mighty Treasure that was obtain'd with more Hard and Cruelty than the World 'till then had known, and which to come at, by the *Spaniard*'s own Confession, had cost the Lives of twenty Millions of *Indians*; as soon, I say, as that Ocean of Treasure came rolling in upon them, it took away their Senses, and their Industry forsook them. The Farmer left his Plough, the Mechanick his Tools, the Merchant his Compting-house, and everybody scorning to work, took his Pleasure and turn'd Gentleman. They thought they had reason to value themselves above all their Neighbours, and now nothing but the Conquest of the World would serve them.[38]

The passages in *The Royal Politician* which Mandeville is referring to are in Vol. II, Emblem LXIX of Saavedra Fajardo's work. Following a common emblem technique Saavedra Fajardo has integrated the motto into the pictorial element of his emblems and Emblem LXIX is represented as follows:

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[38] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 194-96.

EMBLEM LXIX.

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A fourteen page commentary completes this emblem and examines the principle laid out in its first lines that 'Divine Providence would not suffer this Monarchy of the World to be one moment without Gold and Iron; one to preserve, and the other to defend it'. In the passages which are referred to by Mandeville, Saavedra Fajardo writes of the effects of New World treasure on Spain's economy:

> *Spain* was, in former times, so rich, almost only from the Fruits of the Earth, that *Lewis* King of *France*, coming to *Toledo*, in the time of King *Alphonso* the Emperor, was surpriz'd at the Splendour and Magnificence of that Court, affirming, That he had not seen the like in all that Part of *Asia* or *Europe*, which he had travell'd through, in his Voyage to the *Holy Land*.[40]

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39 Saavedra Fajardo, 2: 151.

40 Saavedra Fajardo, 2: 157.

Saavedra goes on later to say that

> this great Plenty of them soon perverted all Things; the Husbandman soon leaves Plough, gets into his Embroider'd Silks, and begins to be more curious of his Tawny, Sun-burnt Hands; the Merchant steps from his Counter into his Sedan, and lolls it lazily about the Streets; Workmen disdain their Tools, and all, forsooth, must now turn Gentlemen.[41]

Mandeville's passage is so close to the English translation of *The Royal Politician* that he could be accused of plagiarism. Critics have tended to ignore this aspect of the *Fable* although such passages occur frequently in every 'Remark' and in the accompanying essays. Because critical attention is usually focused on Mandeville's ideas it is tacitly assumed that such 'borrowings' are simply a result of his literary ineptitude and bear no relation to the ideas he is expressing. F. B. Kaye, the editor of the 1924 standard edition of *The Fable of the Bees*, records each of Mandeville's allusions and lifted passages in his valuable and exhaustive footnotes. Briefly touching on this aspect of the *Fable* in his introduction, he comments that

> From this chapter and the notes to the text it will be seen that a great part of Mandeville's thought was derivatory. What he did was to take conceptions of more or less currency and give to them an especially vivid embodiment; and if there was any self-contradiction in these conceptions, or if they had their roots in attitudes and circumstances usually concealed, he gave to these contradictions and concealments an especial prominence, so that merely by fully stating them he

[41] Saavedra Fajardo, 2: 158-59.

> rendered men aghast at theories they had held all their lives. Much of his originality, then, lay in his manner of exposition.[42]

Kaye views the *Fable* as a radical juxtaposition of ideas, implying that the repetition of phrases or passages from other works is the consequence of a writer more concerned with examining an idea than finding a new method of expressing it. This approach to Mandeville on the level of ideas has influenced subsequent critics who have ignored his literary style in the *Fable*, preferring to promote or attack his concepts of economics or ethics.

Such an approach to the *Fable* occludes Mandeville's attempts to anatomize the rhetoric of economics, moral philosophy and politics. As he dissects the body politic and the textual body of 'The Grumbling Hive' he is creating a set of interpretative tools for the reader to dissect the body of the text he composed in the 'Remarks'. His familiar image of imitation as digestion is given substance by the patchwork quilt of texts he assembles in each 'Remark'. In *The Virgin Unmask'd* and the *Treatise* he argued for a judicious consumption of the texts and rhetorics that were flooding Britain's new consumer society. The most useful texts should be read, imitated, digested and absorbed into the reader's identity. Through the dialogic technique Mandeville forced his readers to analyse the rhetoric of his own text. In the *Fable*, too, he is attempting to make the reader aware of the various rhetorics which compose and determine the body politic. Rather than use the dialogic method in this case, however, Mandeville has chosen to embed a series of

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[42] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: cxi-cxii.

paradoxes in an emblematic format. The emblem, like the dialogue, was regarded as a loose, informal structure and its intrinsically playful nature allows Mandeville to persuade the reader into an active role. His use of the paradox further suspends the traditional expectations of a rational discourse and permits the reader to examine the rhetorical strategies he has employed in his 'Remarks'. In her classic work, *Paradoxica Epidemica*, Rosalind Colie defines the paradox in the following manner:

> Another way of describing this phenomenon is to say that paradoxes are profoundly self-critical: whether rhetorical, logical, or epistemological, they comment on their own method and their own technique. The rhetorical paradox criticises the limitations and rigidity of logic; the epistemological paradox calls into question the process of human thought, as well as the categories thought out (by human thought) to express human thought. Paradox deals with itself as subject and as object, and in this respect too may be seen as both tautological and paradoxical. Particular paradoxes, especially logical and mathematical paradoxes, are often "fixed" into adamantine hardness, because they mark a regular edge to progressive thinking, a point at which "object" turns into "subject". The thinking process, examining for the "error" which brought it up sharp against paradox, turns back on itself to see how it got stuck upon the paradox, and if that paradox might have been avoided: a paradox generates the self-referential activity. Operating at the limits of discourse, redirecting thoughtful attention to the faulty or limited structures of thought, paradoxes play back and forth across terminal and categorical boundaries - that is, they play with human understanding, that most serious of all human activities.[43]

[43] Rosalie L. Colie, *Paradoxia Epidemica: The Renaissance Tradition of Paradox* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1966) 7.

Colie's definition of the effects of paradox accurately summarize the use Mandeville made of it in the *Fable*. Its ability to comment on its own technique gave him a tool which was as self-referential as the dialogic approach he had used in *The Virgin Unmask'd* and the *Treatise*. By highlighting its own rhetorical strategies it also highlights Mandeville's 'borrowings' from other texts and forces the reader to consider the reasons for their absorption into the *Fable*. The irrationality of the paradox reinforces the denial of mankind's superior rational powers and helps Mandeville in his efforts to stress the bestiality of the human passions. For the reader the paradoxes of the *Fable* offer the challenges outlined by Colie. Mandeville encourages an active reading of his text in all his works and by employing the paradox in the *Fable* he compels his readers to re-assess their interpretations of the text. The frustration of a rational discourse in the 'Remarks' redirects the reader's attention, as Colie puts it, to the 'faulty or limited structures of thought'.

This use of the paradox is exemplified in the subtitle of the *Fable* - 'Private Vices, Public Benefits'. Rational grammatical links between the two phrases in the subtitle are ignored in favour of a comma which encourages a range of interpretations without privileging any one in particular. The juxtaposition of the two phrases implies that private vices could be public benefits, an implication at once at odds with the traditional images of public order associated with the bees of the main title. As William Farrell has shown, Mandeville's use of the apian metaphor inverts a long and venerable tradition of the beehive as symbol of industry

and the virtuous human impulse for social cohesion.[44] Every reader of the *Fable* would be familiar with the usual analogy of the beehive and expect an elaboration of it in Mandeville's work. The subtitle, however, provides the shock of paradox which Colie refers to and readers are immediately thrown back on their earlier assumptions and forced to search for their 'error'.

Paradox is at the heart of 'The Grumbling Hive' too. The 'Moral' of the Poem states that

> *Fools only strive*
> *To make a Great an honest Hive.*
> *T'enjoy the World's Conveniencies,*
> *Be famed in War, yet live in Ease*
> *Without great Vices, is a vain*
> Eutopia *seated in the Brain.*
> *Fraud, Luxury, and Pride must live*
> *Whilst we the Benefits receive.*[45]

Here the paradox is put forward more explicitly, claiming that vices provide benefits. In the 'Remarks' he is similarly adept at viewing vice in a paradoxical way and linking it to man's relationship with the concept of luxury. At the end of 'Remark (L)', for instance, he concludes with the following comment:

> By all which I think I have proved what I design'd in this Remark on Luxury. First, that in one sense every thing may be call'd so, and in another there is no such thing.[46]

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[44] William J. Farrell, "The Role of Mandeville's Bee Analogy in "The Grumbling Hive,'" *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 25 (1985): 511-28.

[45] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 36.

Such a statement clearly illustrates how Mandeville used the paradox to create the kind of dialectical situation he had achieved previously by means of the dialogue. His paradoxes situate the reader in a shifting and unstable environment where interpretation itself is brought into question. At any given moment in the *Fable*, the text will compel the reader to acknowledge the relativity of the moral values that are under examination. Colie notes this role of the paradox saying

> One common element to all these kinds of paradox is their exploitation of the fact of relative, or competing, value systems. The paradox is always somehow involved in dialectic judgement or absolute convention.[47]

The exploitation of relative value systems is precisely what Mandeville is attempting to achieve in the *Fable*. The rhetorics he is focusing on - economic, philosophical and political - were all claiming absolute authority, particularly in their views on luxury. In his emblematical essays, Mandeville threads these competing systems together in a series of paradoxes. Even the very order of the essays is aleatory, determined only by the order of the lines chosen from 'The Grumbling Hive' as their epigrams.

The absence of a logical structure in which an argument is put forward point by point denies the reader of any easy rational purchase on the ideas examined in the *Fable*. Occasionally, however, Mandeville will cross-reference his 'Remarks', most

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[46] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 123.

[47] Colie, 10.

noticeably at the end of 'Remark (L) when he points his readers towards 'Remarks (M) and (Q)' for what is 'further said concerning Luxury'.[48]

The over-riding concern with luxury in the *Fable* reflects its centrality to the contemporary debates on economic theory which struggled with the fear that the spoils of empire would 'enervate' the nation. It raised questions concerning the government's control of economic growth and moral issues concerning the ethics of consumerism. For Mandeville the concept of luxury also had an influence on hypochondria and the treatment of his patients. By dissecting luxury, he could reveal the layers of rhetorical strategies employed in the debates of that period and prompt the reader to reassess notions of the body politic.

In his main essay on luxury - 'Remark (L)' - Mandeville begins by placing the concept in the context of language and consumerism. He points out that unless a strict and rigorous definition of luxury is adhered to then the word could signify any improvement in living above mere subsistence. Once the word is separated from its rigoristic definition it is open to an infinite series of interpretations. This relativity of meaning is, he suggests, a danger in all uses of language:

> If every thing is to be Luxury (as in strictness it ought) that is not immediately necessary to make Man subsist as he is a living Creature, there is nothing else to be found in the World...This definition every body will say is too rigorous; I am of the same Opinion, but if we are to abate one Inch of this Severity, I am afraid we shan't know where to stop. When People tell us they only

[48] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 123.

> desire to keep themselves sweet and clean, there is no understanding what they would be at, if they made use of these Words in their genuine, proper, litteral Sense...But these two little adjectives are so comprehensive, especially in the Dialect of some Ladies, that no body can guess how far they may be stretcht.[49]

Prudent consumption of definitions is necessary to avoid the indigestion of infinite consumption. To accomplish this in the arena of luxury Mandeville implies that it is vital to understand the nature of economic consumerism and its relationship to the appetites of the human body. Again, he attempts to demonstrate that the body politic is founded on the physical constitution of the individuals that compose it. If, he says, we understand the role of the physical body in the economy of the nation then we will have a better understanding of the possible effects of luxury and its multiple interpretations:

> It is a receiv'd Notion, that Luxury is as destructive to the Wealth of the whole Body Politick, as it is to that of every individual Person who is guilty of it, and that a National frugality enriches a Country in the same manner as that which is less general increases the estates of Private Families.[50]

In a consumer nation, Mandeville argues, it is the human appetites which are the driving social force and, properly understood, the appetites should not prove unhealthy. In the *Treatise* Misomedon was taught that an understanding of the body's desires and a

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[49] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 107.

[50] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 108.

balanced intake of food and information would cure hypochondria. In 'Remark (L)' Mandeville attempts to teach the same lesson in a broader social context. The debates around the concept of luxury focused on the notion that it would 'enervate' the nation, a fear that also haunted the Roman Empire.

> It is happy for us to have Fear for a Keeper, as long as our Reason is not strong enough to govern our Appetites; and I believe that the great Dread I had more particularly against the Word, to *enervate*, and some consequent Thoughts on the etymology of it did me abundance of good when I was a School-boy: But since I have seen something of the World, the Consequences of Luxury to a Nation seem not so dreadful to me as they did. As long as Men have the same Appetites, the same Vices will remain.[51]

Mandeville is pointing to the etymology of 'enervate' because its Latin root 'nervus' means 'sinew'. By tracing the verb back to a physical derivation he neatly undercuts the abstracted moral connotations that 'enervate' had acquired in Augustan economic discourse. Having moved the debate on luxury into the realm of the body he can then explore the relationship between physical health and the moral state of the nation. Following the arguments he employed in the *Treatise* he declares that the consumption of luxury is not harmful to the body; damage is only inflicted to the constitution by over-indulgence, at which point it is irrelevant whether the goods consumed are considered a luxury or not. He also ensures that his descriptions of luxury include every aspect of life in England, though food and the stomach remain central as a

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[51] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 118.

reminder of the basis of consumption:

> The greatest Excesses of Luxury are shewn in Buildings, Furniture, Equipages and Cloaths; clean Linnen weakens a Man no more than Flannel, Tapistry, fine Painting or good Wainscot are no more unwholesome than bare Walls; and a rich Couch, or a gilt Chariot are no more enervating than the cold Floor or a Country Cart. The refin'd Pleasures of Men of Sence are seldom injurious to their Constitution, and there are many great Epicures that will refuse to eat or drink more than their Heads or Stomachs can bear. Sensual People may take as great Care of themselves as any; and the Errors of the most viciously Luxurious, don't so much consist in the frequent repetitions of their Lewdness, and their eating and drinking too much, (which are things which would most enervate them) as they do in the operose Contrivances, the Profuseness and Nicety they are serv'd with, and the vast Expence they are at in their Tables and Amours.[52]

This is the luxury of Misomedon in a social landscape where one man's luxury can become the envy of another as consumer desires multiply endlessly. Mandeville points out, however, that if these desires are moderated then they are perfectly healthy. The passage also stresses the elitist quality of the luxuries mentioned while reminding the reader of the alternatives - cold floors and country carts. The luxuries that raise fears that the nation will become enervated are restricted to the fraction of the population that an afford them. The majority of the population have few luxuries and little leisure time besides. Economists and moralists who rail against luxury, argues Mandeville, have not yet perceived the

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[52] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 119.

fantastical nature of their consumer society. In this surreal and comical new world the 'sinews' of the nation can be provided by the sturdy poor while the generals issue commands from their sickbeds:

> The Mischief then to be fear'd from Luxury among the People of war, cannot extend itself beyond the Officers...Strong Sinews and supple Joints are trifling Advantages not regarded in Persons of their reach and Grandeur, that can destroy Cities o'Bed, and ruin whole Countries whilst they are at Dinner...So their Heads be but Active and well furnish'd, 'tis no great Matter what the rest of their Bodies are. If they cannot bear the fatigue of being on Horseback, they may ride in Coaches, or be carried in Litters. Men's Conduct and Sagacity are never the less for their being Cripples and the best General the King of *France* has now, can hardly crawl along.[53]

This is a vision of a consumer society that has gorged on luxury. The rational economic discourse which Mandeville has employed in this 'Remark' is used to portray a bloated society that is hungry for slaughter and willing to 'destroy Cities o'Bed'. Far from enervating the nation, he argues, the excess consumption of luxury breeds new desires for territory and for war. The generals at dinner have lost their sense of perspective just as Misomedon in the *Treatise*. On a domestic level this led to a failed marriage but on the national level it results in military confrontation. The reader, keen to be reassured that luxury will not 'enervate' the nation, is presented with a vision of the generals succeeding in war and therefore confirming that luxury is permissible. Such a vision, however, is

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[53] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 120-21.

hardly edifying and readers are forced to question the value of those activities which require the strong sinews of a nation. The anatomy of war peels away any notions of Britain as a race of austere Spartans conquering the world as they eschew luxury:

> Those that have such dismal Apprehensions of Luxury's enervating and effeminating People, might in *Flanders* and *Spain,* have seen embroider'd Beaux with fine lac'd Shirts and powder'd Wigs, stand as much Fire and lead up to the Mouth of a Cannon, with as little Concern as it was possible for the most stinking Slovens to have done in their own Hair, tho' it had not been comb'd in a Month.[54]

What Mandeville's dissection has revealed is a society addicted to luxury. Anatomizing this society reveals luxuries that, through custom, have become accepted as everyday normality. Through constant use the relative value of luxuries have become obscured. Seen through the dissections of the *Fable* they are a language of signs - buildings, furniture, tapestries, clothes - which receives its primary impulse from physical desires. In 'Remark (M)' Mandeville takes his exploration of this language further through a dissection of Pride.

He argues that human pride fuels the multiplication of desires in society using the language of luxury to construct fantasies. Taking clothes as an example of this process in action, he begins by pointing to the evolution of clothes from necessity to luxury:

> Cloaths were originally made for two Ends, to hide our

[54] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 122.

> Nakedness, and to fence our Bodies against the Weather, and other outward Injuries: To these our boundless Pride has added a third, which is Ornament..But whatever Reflections may be made on this head, the World has long since decided the Matter; handsome Apparel is a main Point, fine Feathers make fine Birds, and People where they are not known, are generally honour'd according to their Cloaths and other Accoutrements they have about them; from the richness of them we judge of their Wealth, and by their ordering of them we guess at their Understanding.[55]

This is the one of the first explicit formulations of the language of fashion in our modern consumer society.[56] Pride converts the necessity of clothes into a luxury commodity and consumers use this new language to inscribe an image of themselves in the communal fantasy of society. In another verbal picture Mandeville describes how this operates in practice:

> Whoever takes delight in viewing the various Scenes of low Life may on *Easter*, *Whitsun*, and other great Holy-days, meet with scores of People, especially Women, of almost the lowest Rank that wear good and fashionable Cloaths. If coming to talk with them...they'll commonly be ashamed of owning what they are...The Reason is plain; whilst they receive those Civilities that are not usually paid them...they have the Satisfaction to imagine, that they they appear what they would be, which to weak Minds is a Pleasure almost as substantial as they could reap from the very Accomplishments of their Wishes: This Golden Dream they are unwilling to be disturbed in.[57]

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[55] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 127-28.

[56] John Brewer, Neil McKendrick, and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Europa Publications, 1982) 51-53.

Each consumer from the highest rank to the lowest participates in the golden dream, even if the poorer classes cannot afford the best luxuries. Mandeville's use of the adjective 'Golden' is not accidental in this context. It has the obvious connotations of the desire for material wealth but it also reminds the reader of the 'Golden Age' - a mythical past in which virtue pervaded a pastoral society. Virgilian echoes of the 'Golden Age permeate the 'Moral' of 'The Grumbling Hive' which ends with the lines:

> *Bare Vertue can't make Nations live*
> *In Splendour; they, that would revive*
> *A Golden Age, must be as free,*
> *For Acorns, as for Honesty.*[58]

'Remark (M)' alludes to these lines shortly before describing the 'Golden Dream' when Mandeville comments on a putative 'Virtuous Age' saying

> in such Golden Times no body would dress above his Condition, no body pinch his Family, cheat or overreach his Neighbour to purchase Finery, and consequently there would not be half the Consumption, nor a third part of the People employ'd as now there are.[59]

The reality of a Golden Age is rejected, however, for a 'Golden Dream'. Each individual in a consumer society has their own version of this dream and each participates in the larger fantasy of

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[57] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 128.

[58] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 37.

[59] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 126.

the evolving British Empire. Britain, consciously modelling itself on Augustan Rome, promotes the ultimate 'Golden Dream' - a society bonded by benevolence, politeness and the innate virtue of its citizens.

Mandeville's anatomy of society, then, reveals the body politic to be composed of a series of fictions or fantasies. The parallel anatomy of the body of the *Fable* mirrors this as the reader discovers a patchwork of texts. Consumer society is seen to be based on emulative spending motivated by the multiplying fantasies of its citizens. The *Fable* embodies the operations of this society in the text itself. The 'Preface' compels the reader to consider the book as a consumer commodity when Mandeville mentions the original price of 'The Grumbling Hive' and berates the pirated edition. His familiar ploy of presenting the text as a palatable dish literalizes the consumer metaphor and the imitations of other texts reflects the emulation at the heart of consumerism.

Such stylistic strategies are intended to reinforce the concept of aesthetics which Mandeville began to elaborate in *The Virgin Unmask'd* and the *Treatise*. This theory of aesthetics argues for the Dutch vision in which representation itself is the subject of art. As Mandeville attempts to make his readers aware of the centrality of the body to the new formation of the social order, he creates interpretative tools for them to use in their anatomy of the body politic. Aesthetics in this period were forging new links between the individual and society. The collapse of absolutist power in England forced a reconsideration of the source of law and authority. Aesthetics helped to reinscribe the law of the state in

the individual while binding each person to the social order through the rhetoric of Shaftesbury and his followers. In *The Ideology of the Aesthetic* Terry Eagleton describes this role of aesthetics as follows:

> The ultimate binding force of the bourgeois social order, in contrast to the coercive apparatus of absolutism, will be habits, pieties, sentiments and affections. And this is equivalent to saying that power in such an order has become *aestheticized*. It is at one with the body's spontaneous impulses, entwined with sensibility and the affections, lived out in unreflective custom. Power is now inscribed in the minutiae of subjective experience, and the fissure between abstract duty and pleasurable inclination is accordingly healed. To dissolve the law to custom, to sheer unthinking habit, is to identify it with the human subject's own pleasurable well-being, so that to transgress that law would signify a deep self-violation. The new subject, which bestows on itself self-referentially a law at one with its immediate experience, finding its freedom in its necessity, is modelled on the aesthetic artefact.[60]

The aesthetics of Shaftesbury will create a society held together by manners and the art of politeness. The values sought in art will, then, be the same values that will order society. The body, disciplined by manners, will also be aestheticized and become subject to a concept of beauty which will inform both art and politics. By entering this aestheticized social order the citizen is absorbed into a communal identity in which the body is virtually elided as it submits to the disciplines of politeness.

Mandeville's aesthetics, by contrast, aim to provide a way of

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[60] Terry Eagleton, *The Ideology of the Aesthetic* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990) 20.

seeing which will allow his readers to perceive these pressures. The role of he body in the formation of the new social order is given prominence and is used to undermine the notion that society can be bound together by an innate sense of virtue in man. The understanding of the body and its intimate role in the process of perception which Mandeville underlined in the *Treatise* now forms the basis of a critique of Shaftesbury's aesthetics and the political world view moulded by them. The danger of the *Fable* to Shaftesbury's aesthetic system was recognized by Francis Hutcheson, a philosopher who was profoundly influenced by the *Characteristicks*. After the publication of the expanded 1723 edition of the *Fable*, Hutcheson published an attack on Mandeville which acknowledged the relationship between the *Fable* and the *Treatise*.[61]

Opposing Mandeville's relativity theories of vice, virtue and luxury, he posits an internal sense of taste which guides man towards a benevolent society, geared to the public good. He is careful, however, to distinguish this 'internal sense' from the five physical senses of the body and thus tried to avoid the kind of thinking, organic body considered by Mandeville in his *Treatise*. The intimate links between body and soul which Mandeville had suggested were inimical to the more neo-platonic mould of Shaftesbury and Hutcheson's ideas. Evidence that Hutcheson was aware of the dangers of Mandeville's ideas can be seen in the second of three essays he published in the *Weekly Journal* as a

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61 Francis Hutcheson, *An Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue; in Two Treatisesin Which The Principles of the late Earl of Shaftesbury are Explained and Defended, against the author of The Fable of the Bees* (London, 1725).

reply to the *Fable* in February 1726.[62] There Hutcheson parodies Mandeville's style in a passage which combines two sugar merchants described in 'Remark B' of the *Fable* with a description of the physical symptoms of shame described in 'Remark C'. Mandeville's description of a man overwhelmed with shame provocatively uses medical terms in portraying the passion and talks of 'Symptoms'. The man's 'Spirits swell and fan the Arterial Blood' while 'a more than ordinary Warmth strengthens and dilates the Heart'.[63]

Hutcheson uses this passage as a basis for his parody, which he designed to demonstrate how 'The good arising to the public is...owing to...the industrious, who must supply all customers' and it runs as follows,

> "Suppose...Decio, or Alcander, or Jack, surfeited with Beef, falls into some light distemper, and in hopes of attendance at low rates, sends for a neighbouring quack: the quack imagines no danger, but makes the patient believe it; he talks much in the usual cant of bilious temperaments and sanguine complexions, of the sinking of spirits, and the heart's feeling cold and condensed, and heavy as lead, of mists and confusion about his eyes; he promises, after some previous preparations, which the quack finds necessary to prolong the disorder, by some powerful medicines, to swell his spirits, restore them to their strength, elasticity, and due contexture, that they may fan the arterial blood again, and make him so light that he may tread upon air. The patient grows worse, fears death, thinks on his past life, and sends for

[62] Hutcheson's letters appeared in the *Weekly Journal*, I, as Essays no. 10, 11, 12, and Essays no. 45, 46, 47. They were later published separately as *Reflections upon Laughter, and Remarks upon the Fable of the Bees* (Glasgow, 1750).

[63] Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* 1: 67.

> an honest parson, who instructs him in the true principles of virtue, and shews him wherein he has been deficient: the strength of his constitution overcomes both the drugs and the disease, the patient recovers, becomes a man of integrity and religion, and ever after honours the clergy as the most useful men in any state." Now are these effects to be ascribed to the quacks? Are such pretenders the less odious? Is quacking the cause of religion or virtue, or necessary to it? Does the honour of the clergy depend upon the practice of quacks? It is best in such affairs to go no further than confused apothegms: "private quackery, public virtue: medicinal nonsense, patient's repentance: quacks prescriptions, honours to the clergy."[64]

It is interesting that Hutcheson has here effaced the passion of shame as the cause of illness and that, in a parody of Mandeville, he replaces it with a surfeit of beef, or indigestion. The whole passage reveals a fear of linking physiology and moral problems. In Mandeville's 'thinking body', or his closely linked body and soul, it is inevitable that the moral dimensions of man are explored and described from a physical point of view. Hutcheson, however, does not want to confuse the external senses with the internal sense he is attempting to establish and therefore attacks any effort to link the body with a mind or soul in such an intimate way. The fear revealed in this parody is reinforced by the fact that the passage seems to have little connection to the point he is making in the essay - it simply erupts in the text. Hutcheson's decision to substitute digestion for shame seems to show a knowledge of Mandeville's earlier work, particularly his account of digestion and

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[64] *A Collection of Letters and Essays on Several Subjects, Lately Publish'd in the Dublin Journal*, 2 vols. ed. J. Arbuckle (Dublin, 1729) 1: 387-88.

hypochondria in the *Treatise*. By focusing solely on digestion he effectively limits Mandeville's ideas to the physical dimension where he can then be dismissed as a quack. The acceptance of the physiology of shame would have made such a dismissal impossible and raised difficulties for Hutcheson. Furthermore, by limiting Mandeville to digestion, Hutcheson begins to create a standard of judgement which dictated that digestion, food and the stomach were low and vulgar matters, not to be dwelt on by a man of taste. Taste itself was high and cultivated, transcending the physical.

This distinction between physical taste and aesthetic taste is already evident in the *Inquiry*. His well-known definition of beauty is juxtaposed with the physical when he claims,

> the pleasant Sensation arises only from Objects, in which there is Uniformity amidst Variety: We may have the Sensation without knowing what is the Occasion of it; as a Man's Taste may suggest Ideas of Sweets, Acids, Bitters, tho he be ignorant of the Forms of the small Bodys, or their Notions, which excite these Perceptions in him.[65]

In a later passage expounding the nature of the internal sense he goes even further, delving into the medical in an almost Mandevillian way,

> As to our Approbation of, or Delight in external Objects, when the *Blood* or *Spirits* of which *Anatomists* talk are rous'd, quicken'd, or fermented as they call it, in any agreeable manner by Medicine or Nutriment; or any *Glands* frequently stimulated to Secretion; it is certain

[65] Hutcheson, *Inquiry* 26.

> that to preserve the Body easy, we will delight in Objects of Taste, which of themselves are not immediately pleasant to the Taste,if they promote that agreeable State, which the Body had been *accustom'd* to. Further, *Custom* will so alter the State of the Body, that what at first rais'd uneasy Sensations will cease to do so, or perhaps raise another agreeable Idea of the same Sense; but *Custom* can never give us any Idea of a different Sense from what we had antecedent to it: It will never make the *Blind* approve Objects as *coloured*, or those who have no *Taste* approve Meats as *delicious*, however they might like such as proved *Strenghtening* or *Exhilarating*: Were our *Glands* and the Parts about them Void of Feeling, did we perceive no Pleasure from certain brisker Motions in the *Blood*, no *Custom* would make stimulating or intoxicating Fluids or Medicines agreeable, when they were not so to the Taste: So by like Reasoning, had we no *natural Sense* of *Beauty* from *Uniformity*, *Custom* could never have made us imagine any *Beauty* in Objects...[66]

Food for Hutcheson, however, is something to 'preserve the Body easy' and always appears slightly repellent to him. A few pages after this passage, for instance, he remarks on the association of ideas that we sometimes find difficult to break, as when

> We know what Sickness of the Stomach is, and may without Ground believe that very healthful Meats will raise this; we by our Sight and Smell receive disagreeable Ideas of the Food of Swine, and their Styes, and perhaps cannot prevent the receiving of these Ideas at Table.[67]

This sense of nausea permeates almost all of Hutcheson's

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[66] Hutcheson, *Inquiry* 80-81.

[67] Hutcheson, *Inquiry* 83.

references to physical taste and he seems to employ it deliberately as a means of suppressing the physical and cultivating the purely mental dimension of taste and judgement. When he attacks luxury, for instance, he persistently associates it with the stomach and nausea. He states that

> If we examine the Pursuits of the *Luxurious*, who in the opinion of the World is wholly devoted to his Belly; we shall generally find that the far greater part of his Expence is employ'd to procure other Sensations than those of Taste...[68]

Later again, discussing the pleasures of the luxurious, he asks

> How *insipid* and *joyless* are the Reflections on past Pleasure? and how poor a Recompense is the Return of the transient Sensation, for the *nauseous Satietys*, and Languors in the Intervals?[69]

The only cure for such nausea is the same cure which he prescribed in the *Weekly Journal*:

> a *Mixture* of the *moral Pleasures* is what gives the *alluring Relish*...[and] preserves the Pleasures of the *Luxurious* from being *nauseous* and *insipid*.[70]

Such concern for stomach problems and their remedies was not confined to Hutcheson. Other writers in the *Weekly Journal* seem to have read Mandeville with attention and to have understood his

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[68] Hutcheson, *Inquiry* 90.

[69] Hutcheson, *Inquiry* 223.

[70] Hutcheson, *Inquiry* 228.

strategy of dissection and diagnostics in *The Fable of the Bees.* In yet another attack on the *Fable* in the *Journal,* a writer complains of dangerous views on the promotion of the public good, and argues that

> This Disease in a Body politick, like the Disease of the Spleen in the natural is indeed frequently the effect of high Health, and a generous Constitution; but then it frustrates those Advantages, and makes them that they neither are felt, nor can be improved.[71]

He goes on to assert that in a state 'blown up with intestine Commotions',

> The strongest Constitution will at last be brought under by this means, and a general decay and lowness of Spirits succeed the unnatural Ferment.[72] (p.110)

In such a hypochondriacal state, ruled by '*Imaginary Fears*', the way is open, he says, for the experiments of 'Political Quacks'. The obvious allusions to Mandeville here reflect the general tactics of the *Weekly Journal's* attacks on the *Fable.* Emphasis is laid on his interest in digestion, stomach disorders, and hypochondria. At the same time, digestion and its effects are represented as a low subject not worthy of a gentleman - a man of 'Taste'.

The Fable of the Bees, then, was perceived within the context of quack medical discourse by many of Mandeville's critics. As the author of *The Virgin Unmask'd, A Treatise of the Hypochondriack*

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[71] *A Collection of Letter and Essays,* 110.

[72] *A Collection of Letter and Essays,* 110.

and Hysterick Passions and the translator of *Riverius Reformatus*, Mandeville was well aware that he was placing the *Fable* on the fringes of medical discourse. For twentieth-century readers of the text it is vital to recuperate this context if the *Fable* and Mandeville's later work, which springs from this source, is to be properly understood.

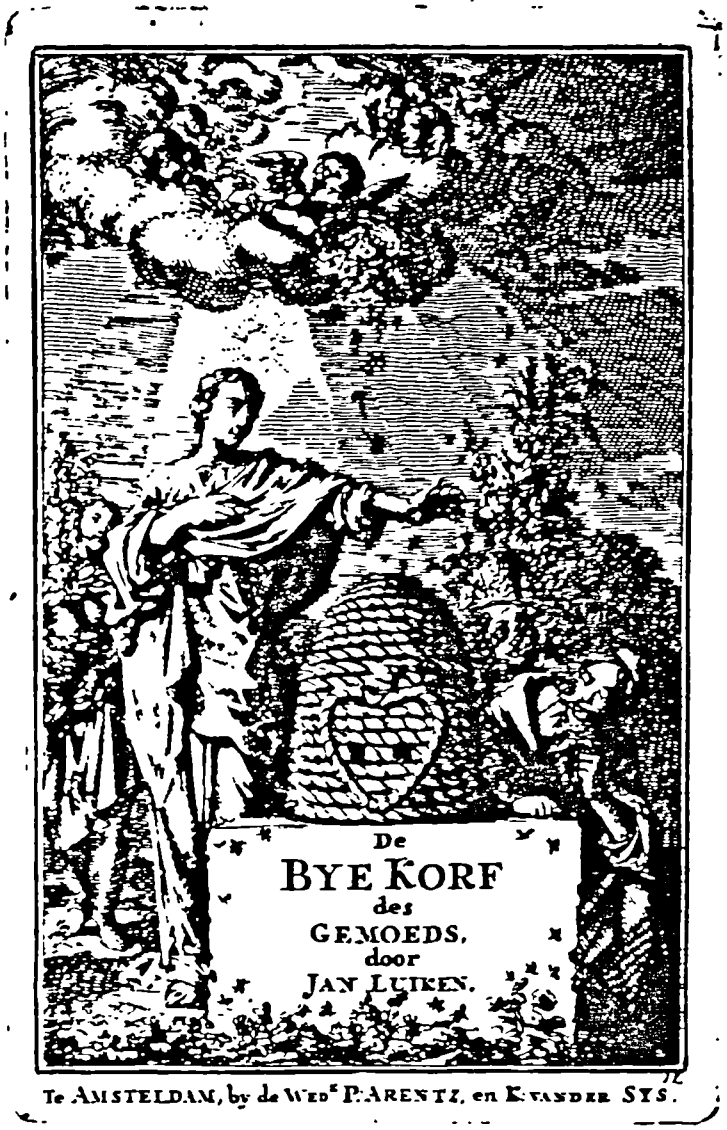


Figure 22. Jan Luyken, *De ByeKorf des Gemoeds* (Amsterdam, 1711) title-page.

HET VAT.

Hoe luider Vat, Hoe minder Nat.

De woorden der wyzen moeten in ſtilligheid aangehoord worden, meer dan het geroep des geenen, die over de zotten heerſt. Prediker IX: 17.

Het

Figure 23. Luyken, 'Het Vat' [The Vat] 298.

322 DE BYKORF

DE VERHUIZING.

Daar de Schat is, is het Hert.

En ik zegge u-lieden, Maakt u zelven vrienden uit den onrechtvaardigen Mammon, op dat wanneer u ontbreeken zal, zy u mogen ontfangen in de eeuwige tabernakelen. Lukas XVI: 9.

Al,

Figure 24. Luyken, 'De Verhuizing' [The Removal] 322.

HET SLAGERS HUIS.

Qua'e voorgang, doet doolen.

En hy zeide tot haar een gelykenisse, Kan ook wel een blinde eenen blinden op den weg leiden? Zullen zy niet beiae in den graft vallen? Lukas VI: 39.

Volg

Figure 25. Luyken, 'Het Slagerhuis' [The Slaughterhouse] 210.

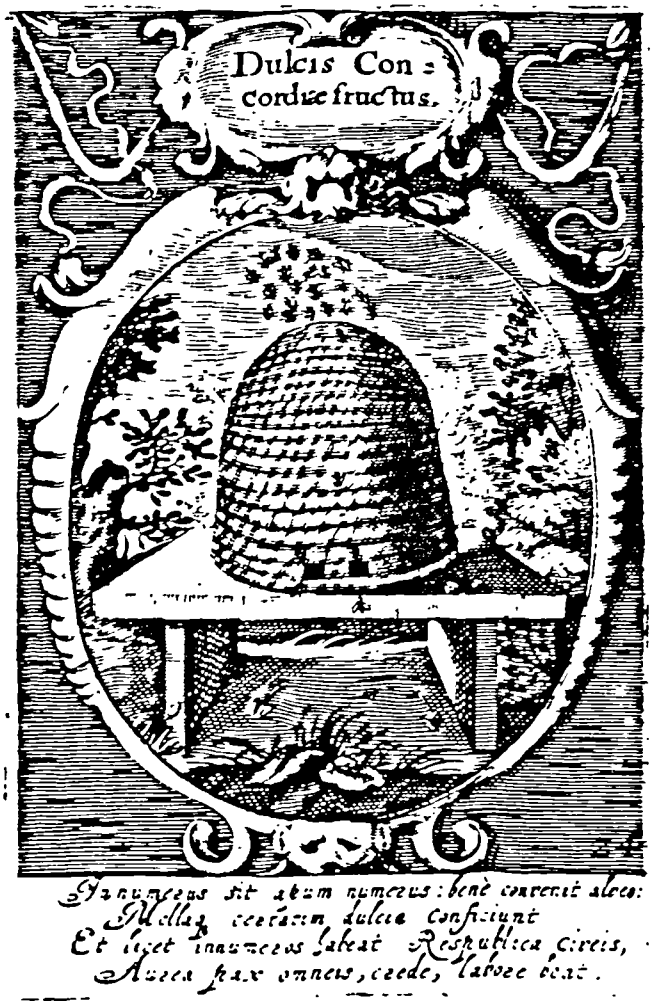


Figure 26. Peter Isselburg, *Emblemata Politica* (Nuremburg, 1617) n. n. 'The Sweet Fruit of Peace'

Figure 27. Andreas Alciati, *Emblematum Liber* (Leiden, 1550) 161. 'The Peace of the Prince'

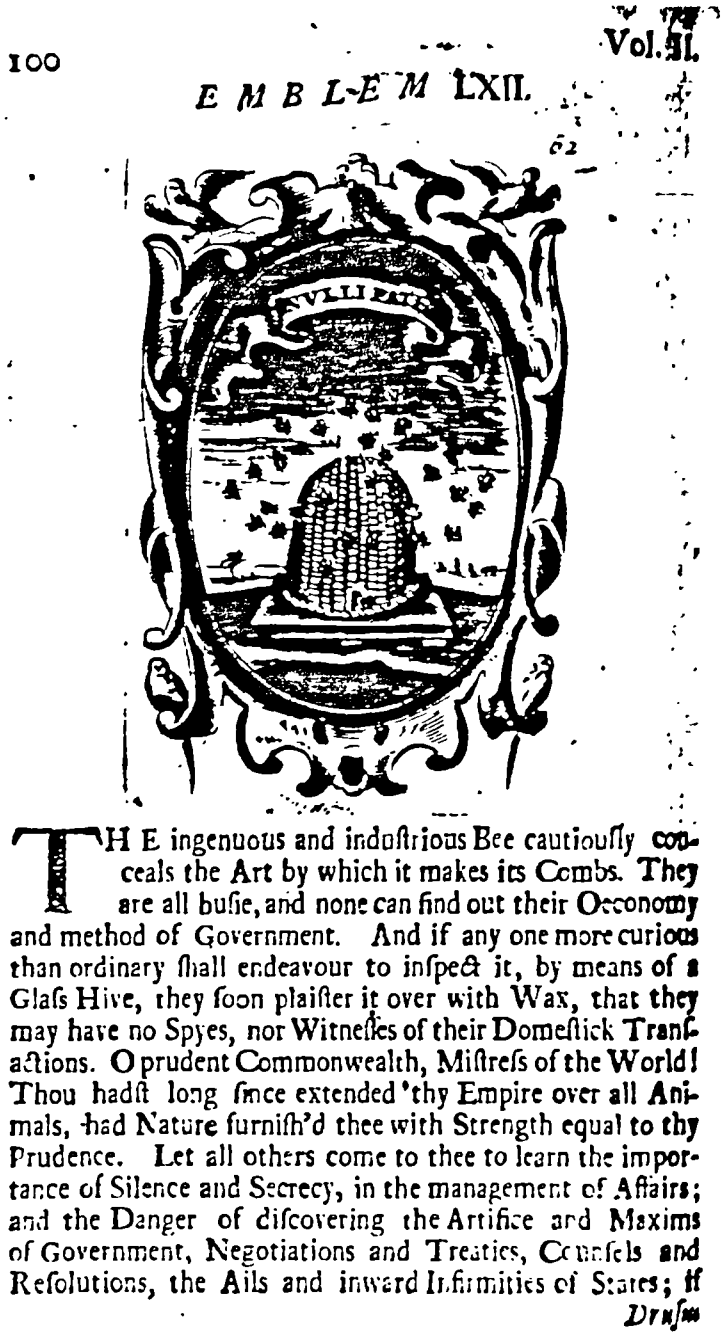
XC.

ARDOR OMNI-
BVS IDEM.

Doctus apum & ſtudia & mores & jura revolvat,
Qui bene vult populis dicere jura ſuis.

Z 2 APES

Figure 28. Joachim Camerarius, *Symbolorum et Emblematum ex Volatilibus et Insectis* (Nuremburg, 1596) 90.



100 Vol. II.

EMBLEM LXII.

THE ingenuous and induſtrious Bee cautiouſly conceals the Art by which it makes its Combs. They are all buſie, and none can find out their Oeconomy and method of Government. And if any one more curious than ordinary ſhall endeavour to inſpect it, by means of a Glaſs Hive, they ſoon plaiſter it over with Wax, that they may have no Spyes, nor Witneſſes of their Domeſtick Tranſactions. O prudent Commonwealth, Miſtreſs of the World! Thou hadſt long ſince extended thy Empire over all Animals, had Nature furniſh'd thee with Strength equal to thy Prudence. Let all others come to thee to learn the importance of Silence and Secrecy, in the management of Affairs; and the Danger of diſcovering the Artifice and Maxims of Government, Negotiations and Treaties, Counſels and Reſolutions, the Ails and inward Infirmities of States; if

Druſus

Figure 29. Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, *The Royal Politician* (London, 1700) 'Nulli Patet'[Nothing Revealed] 100.

EMBLEM LXXIII.

THE Diſeaſes of States are hidden: Nor can any one judge of them by their preſent Diſpoſition; for when they ſeem in full Health and Vigour, they are taken ill of a ſudden, the Diſtemper breaking out when leaſt thought of; like the Vapours of the Earth, which are not viſible till gathered into Clouds. Wherefore a Prince ought carefully to remedy the firſt Symptoms; nor are they to be ſlighted, as ſeeming frivolous and diſtant: as neither the firſt Rumors of Ills, though to appearance never ſo unreaſonable. Who can penetrate the unſetled Deſigns of the frantick *Mobb?* Upon the leaſt Occaſion, the leaſt Shadow of Slavery, or Male-Adminiſtration, it riſes, and takes Arms againſt the Prince. Seditions ariſe from ſmall Cauſes, and afterwards

Figure 30. Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, *The Royal Politician* (London, 1700) 182.

EMBLEM LXXVI.

THE Sun darts the Rays of his Light upon a Concave-Glaſs, and thence proceeds, in Rays of Fire, the Figure of this preſent *Emblem*; intimating, That in the good or bad Intention of the Miniſters conſiſt Peace or War. The Reverberation of the Orders they receive, is Fatal. If the Breaſt be of clear and plain Cryſtal, the Orders flow thence as pure, if not purer, than they entred; but if it be Steel, they will imbroil the whole World in Wars. To this end, Princes, deſirous of Peace, ſhould beware of making uſe of Warlike Miniſters; for as they found all their Fortune upon Arms, they continually ſeek Occaſions to exerciſe them. *France* had never bewail'd the Effects of ſo much Diſcord, nor *Europe* of ſo many Wars, had not the Preſervation of that King's Favour conſiſted therein. We find,

Figure 31. Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, *The Royal Politician* (London, 1700) 205

Conclusion

By 1714 Mandeville had mapped out the main subjects which would occupy his later works. Apart from a short tract on the Whigs, he published nothing more until 1720 when *Free Thoughts on Religion* appeared.[1] Having explored his central concerns in the three prose works published between 1709 and 1714, it is likely that he decided to take stock of what he had acheived so far. He would not assume notoriety until the publication of the 1723 edition of *The Fable of the Bees* but even after this event his work was an elaboration of the rich seam of ideas he had revealed in the earlier texts.

In *The Virgin Unmask'd* Mandeville had exploited the dialogue form to create a sense of uncertainty in his readers. The playful deceptions and seductions of the text heighten awareness of the reading process. At the same time readers are compelled to question their ability to assimilate the work of others and retain a sense of their own identity. Gender and sexual identity are also questioned as Mandeville probes the conventional signifiers of sex in his society. The issue of identity is viewed within the broader context of the political state and the biology of the individual is seen to be defined by the body politic. The interrelationship between the body and government is seen to be a complex one, however. Mandeville points out how the government itself can be limited and defined by an idea based on biological difference such as patriarchy.

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[1] Bernard Mandeville, *Free Thoughts on Religion, the Church, and National Happiness* (London, 1720).

Continuing this exploration in *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions* and *The Fable of the Bees*, he outlines his vision of a new economic order in which the body can suffer from a surfeit of consumerism. The literal and metaphorical potential of this situation are worked out in full as Mandeville continues to develop the dialogue's therapeutic function. He not only questions the limitations of the reader's 'knowledge' but the authority of medical discourse and the interpretative framework of the medical diagnosis.

In *The Fable of the Bees* Mandeville pursues his vision of a consumer society which is determined by the physical passions of each member of the body politic. In *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions* he explored the implications of consumerism in the microcosm of the individual body and one particular marriage. In *The Fable of the Bees* he considers the macrocosm - the body politic and the swarm of consumers who compose it. Through the medium of paradox, he again suspends the rational impulse and reveals the ignorance of the author and his audience.

By constantly foregrounding the reading process, Mandeville demands an active interpretation of his text from his readers. His frequent games and strategic contradictions compel each reader to unravel the text and, in the course of doing so, to acquire a set of interpretative tools. These tools are intended to aid readers in decoding the signs, fashions and fantasies that characterize the consumer world.

The underlying implication behind such a strategy in Mandeville's work is that the consumer economy is based on the principle of imitation. Emulative spending determines the cycle

of fashion while the identity of the individual is determined by the absorption of role models, texts, and ideas from the consumer media. In a society where imitation and the digestion of images is of such vital importance, it is necessary to acquire a reliable set of interpretative tools to discern what exactly should be digested.

In elaborating such ideas, Mandeville found that it was necessary to develop a theory of aesthetics. In *The Virgin Unmask'd* he explored the ways in which each person can create a public identity in society, while acknowledging the pressures society placed on the creation of personal identity. In *A Treatise of the Hypochondriack and Hysterick Passions* he considered how the brain and eye receive images and what effect they have on the entire physical organism. Finally, *The Fable of the Bees* examines the role of aesthetics in political ideology and the formation of a new social order. Mandeville's attack on Shaftesbury and his promotion of what Svetlana Alpers terms the 'Northern' way of seeing was to assume great importance in his later work.

In the expanded edition of *The Fable of the Bees* published in 1723 Mandeville extends his examination of vision in an essay called 'A Search into the Nature of Society'. Here, he makes explicit his views on painting, representation and the process of perception. Referring to the Raphael Cartoons, then housed at Hampton-Court, he notes how, despite 'all their gross Faults', their value is determined as much by their rarity and the high-standing of their owner as by any aesthetic judgement. From this, he proceeds to outline a definite standard of judgement for

painting which is distinctively Dutch:

> Valuable as the Art is I speak of, we are beholden to an Imperfection in the chief of our Senses for all the Pleasures and ravishing Delight we receive from this happy Deceit. I shall explain my self. Air and Space are no objects of Sight, but as soon as we can see with the least Attention, we observe that the bulk of the things we see is lessen'd by degrees, as they are further remote from us, and nothing but Experience gain'd from these Observations can teach us to make any tolerable Guesses at the distance of Things...This Circumstance, not to call it a Defect, in our Sense of Seeing, makes us liable to be imposed upon...[2]

The defects of man's vision are, then, the basis of art. Shaftesbury's theories linked art to beauty and virtue but Mandeville argues that to appreciate the function of art it is necessary to understand the deception inherent in it.

In *The Fable of the Bees II*, published in 1729, this is further elaborated and is shown to be the basis of Mandeville's desire to equip his readers with interpretative tools. One of the characters in the dialogues of *Fable II* attacks the works of Mandeville claiming it is

> the Scheme of Deformity, the Partizans of which study chiefly to make every thing in our Nature appear as ugly and contemptible as it is possible, and take uncommon Pains to persuade Men that they are Devils.[3]

Mandeville's 'Scheme of Deformity' is mediated by the same vision that informs Dutch art and Dutch emblems in the

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[2] Mandeville, *Fable* 1: 327.

[3] Mandeville, *Fable* 2: 30.

seventeenth century. Primacy is given to the study of the process of representation - how the eye, a flawed instrument, is used to paint an image. Extending this study into philosophy, Mandeville goes on to examine how the mind, equally flawed by pride and other passions, views the world.

The 'Scheme of Deformity' which permeates the final elaborations of *The Fable of the Bees* is the fruition of ideas first developed in the early trilogy in the years 1709-1714. They, in turn, grew from the combination of medicine, philosophy and art which characterised Leiden University in the late seventeenth century. Mandeville puts these ideas to use in his anatomy of the new economic and social order which begins to characterise early eighteenth-century England. In his anatomy of society he employs his knowledge of medicine to highlight the importance of the body in the emerging networks of power. The body of his texts are then dressed to seduce the palate of his readers, offering them an antidote to the all-consuming world about them.

Appendix One: Oration on Medicine

Sallust rightly said, 'All our power lies in both the mind and the body'. Philosophy keeps the mind within the bounds of reason and it alone is capable of healing the faults of the mind. Medicine preserves the body's health, or restores lost health. No-one could ever believe that the mind and its moderator philosophy would not be pre-eminent. Certainly the body and its preserver, medicine, are second in rank and dignity to the mind and philosophy. Besides mind and body there is nothing else which could constitute the nature of man. We must, therefore, take great care to ensure that it is not only the mind that is healthy, but the body too. Indeed, unless the body is sound, the mind certainly cannot be; and consequently, when either one of them finds itself in distress then it attracts the help of the other one. Thus it is arranged by nature, though how I don't know, that men are drawn into diverse studies both by the secret and seductive power of nature, and by the silent bias of natural ability. Various things please other people, the study of medicine pleases me. Because of that, I began to consider the choice of the kind of life to which I would be devoting myself. It always seemed so pleasant that I never appeared capable of being swayed from this decision for any reason. Since I had to make a brief scholastic oration because I had been promoted from the Erasmian school to academic study I decided, therefore, to talk to this most eminent circle of listeners about medicine in particular. Whatever I set forth on the subject will be spoken without pomp or ostentation, springing from a truly profound movement of the soul.

Furthermore, when I seem to tax my mind with thoughts beyond my years, I beg you, most learned listeners, not to disdain to supplement my inadequate mental powers with your friendly help and kindness. When I look at myself, I lose faith in my mental ability and, as worries and anxieties beset me from all sides I almost despair of a happy outcome. But when I think of my fellow pupils engaged in presentations in this very hall, whom you are accustomed to honour with unique favour, then I recover my courage and I hope you will not deny me that which you have kindly given to others more than once. And so, sustained by this hope, I will state, on the subject of medicine, those things which, though they don't exceed the grasp of an adolescent, spring to the mind of someone studying the subject quite carefully.

Perhaps someone expects this definition of medicine from me: it is commonly called the art of healing and it is the science of removing illnesses - with an explanation of the thing in its particular parts taken for granted. Because it is the preservation of good health, and, without casting aspersions on the other part of the art of medicine, this is indeed first, not only in order of rank, but also in usefulness. Who does not see that the first benefit of medicine is that we may keep ourselves in sound health; the second, that we may restore ruined health or recover lost health. It is, then, more useful to a man to be skilled in medicine to such a degree that he may always have undamaged and unimpaired health, than that he knows how to combat diseases assailing him from every direction, even if he may finally be victorious at the end of the struggle. But yet, who could come to doubt that there is much

more difficulty and skill, much more admiration and fame in the removing of diseases? What of the fact that knowledge of removing diseases makes it very clear that it also, to a great extent, includes the skill of preserving health. And so, in a word, these things are so bound and linked together that they cannot be separated from each other.

And this indeed is the goal of medicine, listeners; the remainder consists of its powers and properties in the understanding of diseases and medicines. Alas, how much pain and torment exists, by which we miserable people are afflicted through all our life. There is no part of the human body, even the smallest particle, which is not vulnerable to infinite kinds of diseases. It is incredible to have to say how many serious ills even those members which we scarcely know of, or certainly rarely think of, are exposed to. Gaining a knowledge of them all is of help to afflicted mortals. All this, however much of it there is, and certainly it is great, all this, I say, lies within the bounds of medicine. It first discovers the effects of illness, compares the symptoms, examines the causes, applies remedies, and, with the accession of divine favour, restores the gravely afflicted to health and snatches others from the edge of death. But knowledge of remedies also has immense use in medicine, as we must know what properties have been given by almighty god to created things for the restoration of lost powers to mankind; and you must know how to prepare and mix these well. Nor indeed are these alone sufficient to grasp a knowledge of medicine; but rather, above all else, all the parts of the human body must be known, together with their use in

performing the functions of human life. Without this knowledge, knowledge of all diseases and medicines would be in vain. As to the actual parts of the body, it is incredible to relate how many of these there are, how closely they are interconnected, and what amazing effects they produce. And what of the fact that some of these parts of the body in particular are so small and concealed that they are perceived more with the mind then with the eyes. By means of which parts, however - and this is worthy of the greatest admiration - the most important functions of life are carried out. The ancients, in times past, expended much effort in finding them, in explaining them satisfactorily, and in demonstrating their properties and functions; and today, extremely keen and diligent men are making great advances. Unless a man knows all the functions of the rest of the limbs, he walks in darkness, and inevitably, he always errs seriously, to the great misfortune of the ill.

And so it is right and proper that knowledge should augment this with all the most certain elements of philosophy. Not just that part which deals solely with natural philosophy, but that part which, by reasoning equally with the most subtle and the most certain rules and examples, teaches us to reason subtly and with certitude in this branch too. Natural philosophy is certainly necessary to the future doctor, so that he may have a thorough knowledge and clear notion of the properties and powers of natural substances which are used extensively in medicine. If he was deprived of it, how, I ask you, could he ever use herbs, bushes, trees and their roots, leaves and juices; or use stones, and

whatever the bowels of the earth produce or hold hidden within them;or use the flesh of other animals, bones and anything whatsoever is in them from which medicines usually are, or can be, manufactured; how could he, I say, use all of these correctly to preserve and restore health to the body? He, who indeed is finely versed in natural philosophy, will judge, with no less certainty than ease, of the power of all these things. He, who recalls that even in the human body affected parts are not always to be seen by the eyes or dealt with by the hands, will not, however, be surprised that those things which are termed metaphysical, and which contain the most elevated material of philosophy, and indeed are linked to reason alone as they are not even tied to the external sensation of the body, have enormous use in medicine. By as much therefore as someone has been versed in this part of philosophy, and by as much as he discovers and investigates more clearly and distinctly whatever there is belonging to this type, so that it may be clear enough to him before he makes a diagnosis, so much more capable will he be in thoroughly knowing the art of medicine and successfully practising it. Finally, daily observations and experience of various cases also play no small part in the completing and perfecting of medicine. Add to this, both assiduous reading of authors who diligently and faithfully have recorded such things in literature, and also, practice and experience, which most certainly is master of this kind of thing.

It follows that we should see which arguments in particular present themselves, by which we may recommend medicine worthy to be influenced by. And so, listeners, we can indeed observe the

first goal of medicine, which is none other than the preservation of sound health or the restoration of lost health. There is no-one I am sure who would not agree with me that it is no small thing to enjoy good health and to have use of one's limbs for performing the service of the mind. There is no-one who would not think it wretched to be languishing in illness or tormented by pains. In as much, then, as we value good health, we should also value medicine. What, as Sallust says. of the fact that the mind, the leader and decision-maker of human life (which we hold in common, not with animals, but the gods) except it has unimpaired health, cannot manage its duties. The particle of the divine spirit is fixed to earth and can do nothing with a body afflicted by some disease; all its serenity is overcast by this wild tempest, all its light is extinguished by this gloom. When diseases take away all the strength and effect of the mind from the body it seems as if they take the sun from the world. In addition, what is more pleasant to man than to pass through life enjoying good health? Nothing is of use to a man, unless he is in sound condition. From the sum total of everything of which the world is comprised - all of which is certainly established for the use of mankind - from that, man can seize no profit unless he is in good health. What if a fever grips a man unexpectedly? Observe how there is an aversion to everything, even a weariness of life itself. Nothing can stimulate him, there is nothing which can excite an ailing and listless man. By now he is refusing all food and drink, yet who will deny that there is greatest pleasure in consuming these things with an appetite? Not even all the treasure of Persia, and whatever pleasures there are, can work

upon the body of a sick person. Truly, the art of medicine is uniquely equipped to drive away all these miseries, which are certainly severe, and to make us enjoy the divine gifts with enormous satisfaction. On account of that, it must be placed first, before the others.

Now accept another argument, listeners, by which you may be persuaded that medicine must be held in the greatest honour. Just consider, I ask you, the wonderful effects of medicine. I appeal to your knowledge and experience of human affairs; do you remember frequent cases of men, ensnared by formidable diseases and already wholly despaired of, who, having been administered medicines skilfully, have returned from the jaws of death to life almost at the last moment? Indeed, to whom could this seem a small thing? Unless perhaps, someone can be found who hates himself and his very life. On account of this, all histories frequently bear witness to doctors who are loaded with great honours and huge rewards. But why do I cite stories as testimony? Just for me, let every one descend into his own thoughts and consider how vehemently, being fixed in the grip of death, already mourned and almost buried, he would desire to be snatched from the jaws of death, and to be restored to former health; it will not be unclear how much is owed to medical knowledge.

What, moreover, is more ancient than medicine? Being something which, practised since the beginnings of the world, survives to the present day, it is amplified more and more and is daily augmented and will not ever cease in any age, as long as people are to be found in the world. Indeed, there never was any

more celebrated art, nor will there be. For how few people there are who, when they have heard any precepts whatever of medical art, would not entrust them to memory, not take note and write out diligently and would not freely impart the gifts on the right occasion to someone who was suffering? What is fairer than that we should all direct our concerns towards this, and channel all our energies so that we can bring aid to sufferers sharing the same nature and fate as ourselves? What could be said to be more pious than if we are wholly involved in this, i.e. so that we perform our required duty to the afflicted and free them from their misfortunes? Nothing said here by me is more than the truth; nor do we ascribe anything to doctors which exceeds human powers. Experience itself teaches how, with the minimum of trouble, and with one little finger so to speak, very famous doctors have been often of help to many who are seriously ill. The art of medicine is not so difficult as to exceed the grasp of man; yet it has that in which the most perspicacious can occupy themselves and get a reward for their effort. And so, the simplicity of medicine can attract us to the study of it, and what is difficult in it will ensure that it is not distasteful to us because it is too easy. Those things which are noble are difficult, nor is anything more worthy of an exceptional man than that he should invest his labour in difficult things. Also there is nothing more pleasant than the knowledge and practise of medicine; whether someone would be versed in the knowledge of diseases and would consider their power and nature - examine their causes and discover their effects; or whether he examines medicines and , with the help of fire, draws their powers

out of them leaving impurities behind, and then turns his mind to their composition and mixture; or whether someone is devoted to anatomy and the dissection of bodies so that he can examine hidden parts of the body with the eyes and mind, and at the same time admire them; or whether someone devotes attention to the ancillary philosophy of medicine; or whether, finally, he wants to delight the mind in reading the observations of the most distinguished doctors. Which, however, among all the arts and sciences, I ask you, can be said to be honourable and more suitable for a man and more worthy of a wise man? Indeed there is nothing more glorious than, not only to make the bedridden and weak rise up, but, something unique to medicine, to revive men from death itself. If I were to mention everything the subject offers concerning the usefulness of medicine such a broad field would be opened up that there would scarcely be an end to gambolling and capering about in it. But I am unwilling to abuse your patience, listeners, and I am content simply to touch on medicine's great power in both dispelling various ills and in bringing people back to complete health. However many very serious diseases exist, there are certainly a large number, and often now,

> ...wasting disease and a new cohort of fevers
> have fallen on the lands

and new and previously unknown diseases assail pitiable mortals. But, however much there is of these, medicine alone can conquer them. Nor is any disease so wholly serious that, when an

experienced doctor is summoned in time, it cannot, with divine aid, be cured. We daily observe how people are afflicted with many discomforts, from which many are very easily freed with the help of doctors. And unless doctors had met the oncoming disease, and with steadfast courage completely vanquished the terrifying monster, then illnesses as vicious as they are innumerable would have grown to enormous proportions and the entire human race would have been done for long since. Truly the good which medicine brings to men is so extensive that without it nothing of worth is left in a man's life. It is designed so that he enjoys good and sound health, without which, who I ask you will deny that he lacks the use of all good things? Nor does medicine merely demonstrate this once or twice, but however many times any malign sort of disease is properly treated by medicines, it just cannot fail to happen that the same effects always follow. And furthermore, the art of medicine is so necessary to men that without it they could not even live. What philosophy is to the mind, medicine is to the body, and the conjunction of these two can yield that which is greatly to be desired in life - a sound mind in a sound body. Take medicine from life and we will easily fall into the grip of very dangerous diseases, from which it will be very difficult to escape. As often as some disease invades a man we invariably see the evil grow continually so that the man's life is done for unless we resist the oncoming disease in its beginnings, rather than have someone hope that the evil's force would vanish by itself without having medicines administered. How many people who were indifferent to medicine did this evil take from society, or reduce to

unspeakable miseries, or inflict with the most extreme pains and torments which could have been very easily cured in the beginning? And this is indeed so certain and so obvious that it can be in no way denied. It is medicine alone which protects health, relieves pains, and removes illnesses. What then will you take refuge in, whoever you are, given possession of this life by immortal God, when

> ...your body was in agony, seized by cold,
> or some accident has confined you to bed

with an illness worsening hourly? Will you not, having begged almighty God for help, entrust yourself to doctors? Certainly you will if you show good sense, unless you want to be responsible for losing your own life. It is this alone which, in a crisis, can help a person according to God's will at a time of great need. Are all the body's powers deserting you? Nor is there any nourishment in your usual food and drink? Observe how the art of medicine is there at the crucial moment to bring you help and health. Because of which, anyone may easily see how much we should value medicine.

I come now to those things which, in order to scorn it, are generally said by some people who dislike medicine and think of it with little respect. Things which are few, not founded on any reason and indeed seem scarcely worthy of any refutation. Yet I am prepared to hear and to examine whatever can be brought forward for the vituperation of medicine by these people, lest extremely scurrilous men flatter themselves, or unwise men are deceived by their appearance. Come now, step forward, and come out here in the light and in public, you who are accustomed to savage and to

lacerate medicine with words in secrecy. What is there, I ask you, which your ignorance and stupidity can throw up against the true and unblemished art of medicine? Doubtless these things will only tarnish a small part of it. Everyone agrees that those inquisitive people - the satirists, comedians, mime-artists, clowns or astrologists - who observe the affairs of others as acutely as either an eagle or the serpent of Epidaurus but are completely blind in their own affairs, can never diminish the praise of medicine by anything they shall say. Unless perhaps they censure doctors with this one thing, that

At times an illness is stronger than the skilful art.

Wretched little humunculi ! and, I even go as far as to say, fools and villains ! who so grossly abuse the words of a fine author. For surely these people don't demand of doctors that they must always entirely remove every kind of disease, or outlaw and exile death from the world and make man's life eternal, contrary to the law of the highest arbiter of human affairs, by which law all things are ordained to die at some time? Certainly they judge medicine very stupidly and invent for it things which it is not lawful for any doctor even to consider. God has dealt admirably enough with the human race, which is afflicted with innumerable diseases through its own fault; because, though undeserving, he so generously endowed it with medicine and doctors which he would like us to hold in great esteem; doctors who can skilfully remove all disease whatever that assail man in his lifetime - with the exception only

of when the supreme commander orders us to leave our post. There is no reason why anyone should reply to me here that, even before that last and decisive day of judgement will have come, many are tormented by various diseases, long-lasting indeed and incurable. Yet the cause of this situation must not be ascribed to the art of healing; but to those people who, while they are exceptionally ignorant of medicine, do not hesitate, however, to declare a knowledge of medicine. But from wise and experienced doctors so much spills over into mankind, so many diseases against which you would try anything in vain, are cured with the assent of the divine will, that a knowledge divinely granted and allowed to man can not be slighted without the filthy guilt of ingratitude.

But if therefore medicine both frees men from diseases, and there is nothing more desirable that could happen to them than this, and if it preserves health which indeed is a treasure-house with which you can't even compare all the riches of Persia, who is there who, in admiration of it, would not grasp this divine knowledge? There is very little of the miraculous elsewhere, if you look at medicine. For no other reason could you so congratulate mankind than for this heavenly sent knowledge by which very serious diseases are so easily counteracted. Now continue your lives, blest three times and more, since that with which you can relieve the unhappiness of your fate is given to you as an enormous gift of divine generosity. O admirable science and praised by all, in recommendation, in literature, and in being honoured by monuments; how can your merits not surpass whatever I could say about you, however well expressed. Hail, expeller of diseases, preserver of

life, conspicuous by your inconceivable majesty, renowned for great merits towards mankind, not worthy to be praised by any but the greatest of all. Continue what you do, snatch afflicted people from the greatest sorrows and the most serious illnesses. Restore the human race, pour into us from the horn of plenty which is full of the best things in life for a man. Mortal life is done for, unless you, heaven sent, are mindful of us. You alone, with the support of divine aid, raise up and restore whatever is languishing and laid low. You transform sorrow into joy, and bring those who are nearly dead back to life. I wish there were many more who would turn their hand to cultivating the most beautiful art. Here, I urge and beseech you, whom divine generosity has placed in rather prosperous and luxurious circumstances, that, duly awarding the value of this most distinguished art, you will devote your energy to learning it thoroughly. There is no art more appropriate in a gentleman, whether he places more value on invention or on judgement. Therefore, noble scions of manhood, divinely ordained to be more gifted with talent than others, direct your labours towards a most distinguished art, you will never regret the toil expended, nor will you seize more plentiful profit from any other art. Thus it is that when you exercise the fine gifts of your mind: either while you learn, with great praise, those things which others worked out correctly; or when you add something to the discoveries of others, correct something that had been wrongly understood and render the most useful art much more perfect and complete than it had been.

BERNARDI à MANDEVILLE

DE MEDICINA ORATIO SCHOLASTICA,

publicè habita, cum è ſcholâ Eraſmianâ ad Academiam promoveretur, Octob. CIↃ IↃC LXXXV.

ROTTERODAMI,
Typis REGNERI LEERS,
M DC LXXXV.

Pag. 3

Optimè parens, chariſſime ave, dilecte avuncule, ampliſſimi ac reverendi D. D. ſcholæ Eraſmianæ curatores, D. rector, cæterique præceptores omni obſervantiâ in perpetuum colendi, quotquot porro adeſtis auditores humaniſſimi, & vos commilitones mei.

REctè Salluſtius: *Omnis*, inquit, *noſtra vis in animo & corpore ſita eſt.* Animum intra gyrum rationis continet philoſophia; eademque animi vitiis ſola mederi poteſt. Corpori ſanitatem medicina conſervat, aut amiſſam reſtituit. Animus, ejuſque moderatrix philoſophia, quin primas teneat, nemo eſt qui dubitet. Corpus verò, ejuſque conſervatrix medicina, ordine ac dignitate ſecundum ab animâ ac philoſophiâ locum obtinet. Præter animum & corpus nihil eſt, quod hominis naturam conſtituat. Summa itaque opera nobis danda eſt, non modò ut animus, ſed ut corpus quoque valeat. Niſi enim corpori bene ſit, ne animo quidem bene eſſe poteſt: atque ita utrumque per ſe indigens alterum alterius auxilio veget. Eſt ita naturâ

comparatum, ut occultâ quadam ac blandâ naturæ vi atque tacitâ ingenii inclinatione ad diverſa ſtudia, neſcio quomodo, homines abripiantur. Aliis alia placent, mihi medicinæ ſtudium, ex quo aliquid judicare cœpi de deligendo, cui me addicerem, vitæ genere, ita ſemper arriſit; ut nullâ ratione ab hoc inſtituto dimoveri unquam poſſe videar. De medicinâ itaque potiſſimùm, cùm mihi è ſcholâ Eraſmianâ ad Academica ſtudia promoto oratiuncula ſcholaſtica habenda ſit, in florentiſſimâ hac auditorum coronâ verba facere ſtatui: quicquid de eâ proferam ſine pompâ aut oſtentatione ex vero intimoque animi ſenſu dicturus.

Cæterùm dum in re gravi ac difficili fortiorem fortaſſe, quam pro meâ ætate animum gerere videor, peto à vobis, auditores humaniſſimi, ut quicquid his viribus deerit, benignitate ac benevolentiâ veſtrâ ſupplere ne dedignemini. Me ipſe cùm intueor, ita me curæ ac ſolicitudines undique obſident, ut penè animum deſpondeam, ac de felici exitu deſperem: at cùm commilitones meos cogito, quos ſingulari favore proſequi in eâdem hac verſantes arenâ ſoletis; animum recipio, ſperoque fore, ut mihi non denegetis, quod tam benigniter aliis non ſemel largiti eſtis. Hâc itaque ſpe fretus de medicinâ dicam, quæ non exceſſura captum adoleſcentuli, diligentius eam conſideranti in mentem venêre.

Medicinæ definitionem hîc à me exſpectet fortaſſe aliquis: ars medendi vulgò audit; ſumptâ rei explicatione à potiſſimâ ejus parte, morborum tollendorum ſcientiâ. Eſt etenim & altera artis medicæ pars haudquaquam contemnenda, bonæ valetudinis conſervatio; &

hæc

hæc quidem non ordine modò prior eſt, ſed etiam utilitate. Quis enim non videt primum medicinæ munus eſſe, ut integram nobis ſanitatem conſervemus; alterum, ut collapſam inſtauremus, aut amiſſam recuperemus. Deinde utilius homini eſt medicinam ita callêre, ut illæſâ atque illibatâ ſemper ſit valetudine, quam, ut cum ingruentibus undique morbis depugnare ſciat, ut ut finito tandem certamine ſuperior exſtiturus ſit. Cæterum quin in morbis depellendis multò plus ſit difficultatis atque artificii, multóque plus admirationis ac gloriæ, quis eſt, cui in dubium venire poſſit? Quid? quod morborum tollendorum cognitio tam latè patet, ut ſanitatis conſervandæ quoque ſcientiam magna ex parte complectatur. Ut verbo abſolvam: tanta eſt harum rerum inter ſe conjunctio & conſpiratio, ut divelli à ſe invicem nequeant.

Atque hic quidem medicinæ finis eſt, auditores: reliqua verò ejus vis ac natura in morborum ac medicamentorum cognitione conſiſtit. Eheu nos miſeros, quantum eſt dolorum ac cruciatuum, quibus per omnem vitam affligimur! Nulla humani corporis, vel tantilla particula eſt, quæ infinitis morborum generibus non ſit obnoxia. Etiam ea membra, quæ penè ignoramus, aut certè rarò cogitamus, dictu incredibile eſt, quàm multis gravibuſque malis ſint expoſita. Quæ omnia noſſe ſalus eſt miſeris mortalibus. Totumque hoc quantumcunque eſt, quod certè maximum eſt, totum eſt, inquam, medicinæ. Hæc primùm morborum effectus deprehendit, ſigna comparat, cauſas rimatur, remedia adhibet, & accedente divinâ gratiâ graviter afflictos ſa-

nitati reſtituit, mediaque è morte eripit. Sed & medicamentorum quoque cognitio ingentem in medicinâ uſum habet: ut noſcas quid virium à deo optimo maximo inditum ſit rebus creatis ad amiſſas homini vires reſtituendas, beneque eas præparare ac miſcere ſcias. Neque verò hæc ſola ſufficiunt ad tenendam medicinæ ſcientiam: ſed vel in primis noſcendæ ſunt omnes corporis humani partes, unà cum earum uſu ad obeunda vitæ munia. Sine hac enim cognitione fruſtra eſſet omnium morborum medicamentorumque cognitio. Ad partes verò corporis quod attinet; dictu incredibile eſt, & quam multæ hæ ſint, & quam arctè inter ſe connexæ, & quam mirabiles effectus edant. Quid? quod tam exiguæ reconditæque quædam inter eas ſunt, ut intellectu magis quam oculis deprehendantur. A quibus tamen, quod eſt ſummâ admiratione digniſſimum, potiſſima vitæ munia peraguntur. In his inveniendis, ac bene explicandis, oſtendendoque earum officio ac munere, & multum deſudarunt olim veteres, & multum hodie proficiunt diligentiſſimi acutiſſimique homines. Reliquorum membrorum officia niſi quis exactè cuncta noverit, is & in tenebris ambulet. & graviter ſemper erret, neceſſe eſt, maximo ægrotantium malo.

Atque ad hæc omnia abſolutiſſima philoſophiæ cognitio accedat, oportet. Non ejus modo, cui τὰ φυσικὰ tractare unum opus eſt, ſed illius quoque, quæ ſubtiliſſimis pariter ac certiſſimis ratiocinandi præceptis atque exemplis, ſubtiliter ac certò in hoc quoque genere ratiocinari docet. Phyſice certè futuro medico neceſſaria eſt, ut naturam ac vim corporum naturalium, quorum

uſus

uſus eſt in medicinâ maximus, penitus cognitam perſpectamque habeat. Qua ſi careat, quî obſecro fieri poteſt, ut herbis, fruticibus, arboribus, earumque radicibus, frondibus, ac ſuccis; ut lapidibus, ac metallis, & quicquid terræ viſcera edunt, aut tenent in ſe reconditum; ut reliquorum animantium carnibus, oſſibus, & quicquid in iis eſt, unde confici medicamenta aut ſolent, aut poſſunt; ut his omnibus, inquam, rectè utatur ad conſervandam reſtituendamve corporis ſanitatem. Phyſicen verò qui pulchrè calleat, de omnium harum rerum vi non minus certò quam facilè judicabit. Quæ autem dicuntur eſſe μὴ τὰ φυσικὰ, quæque ſublimiorem philoſophiæ materiam continent, atque adeo ratione ſolâ (non etiam externo corporis ſenſu) nituntur, ea verò uſum in medicina ingentem habere non mirabitur, qui modò cogitarit, ne in humano quidem corpore partes affectas ſemper oculis uſurpari, aut tractari manibus poſſe. Quantò igitur quis fuerit in hac philoſophiæ parte verſatior, quantoque clarius ac diſtinctius, quicquid eſt hujus generis perceperit atque exquiſiverit, ut ſatis ipſi liqueat, prius quam quicquam ſtatuat; tantò ad pernoſcendam medicinæ artem, eamque feliciter exercendam, erit aptior. Denique ad conſummationem abſolutionemque medicinæ haud parum quoque faciunt obſervationes quotidianæ, variorumque caſuum peritia. Huc pertinet, cùm aſſidua lectio auctorum, qui talia literis ſedulò fideliterque conſignarunt; tùm verò uſus & experientia, quæ certiſſima hujuſmodi rerum magiſtra eſt.

Sequitur ut videamus, quæ potiſſimùm argumenta

ſe offerant, quibus permoti medicinam dignè commendemus. Ac primùm quidem medicinæ finem ſpectemus, auditores; qui non alius eſt, quam ſanitatis aut ſalvæ conſervatio, aut perditæ reſtitutio. Non eſſe exiguam rem proſperâ valetudine uti, membrorumque ſuorum habere uſum ad obeunda animi miniſteria, nemo eſt, qui non ultro mecum fateatur, ſat ſcio. Contrà languere morbis, cruciari doloribus, nemo eſt, qui miſerum non deputet. Quanti itaque apud nos integra valetudo eſt, tanti quoque medicina ſit oportet. Quid? quod vitæ humanæ dux atque arbiter animus, qui nobis non cum belluis, ſed cum dîs, ut ait Salluſtius, communis eſt, niſi incorruptâ valetudine, munus ſuum adminiſtrare nequit. Jacet terræ affixa divinæ particula auræ, neque quicquam poteſt corpore morbo aliquo afflicto; omnis ejus ſerenitas obnubilatur turbidâ hac tempeſtate; omne ejus lumen hac caligine exſtinguitur. Ut ſolem è mundo morbi tollere videantur, dum animi vim omnem effectumque tollunt è corpore. Ad hæc, quid eſt homini jucundius, quam proſperâ valetudine utentem ætatem agere? Nullarum rerum uſus eſt homini, niſi bene valenti. Quicquid univerſus hic terræ orbis complectitur, quod quidem omne conditum eſt in uſum generis humani, ex eo fructum nullum, niſi ſano ſit corpore, capere homo poteſt. Febris ex improviſo hominem occupavit? Ecce adeſt omnium rerum odium, ipſiuſque adeo tædium vitæ. Nihil eſt quo capiatur, nihil quod mœrentem jacentemque erigat. Jam cibum potumque averſatur omnem, in quibus cum appetentiâ capiendis, quis negabit maximam ineſſe delectationem?

tionem? Ne univerſæ quidem Perſarum gazæ, & quicquid eſt voluptatum, afficere ægrotantem poſſunt. Omnes verò has miſerias, quæ ſunt certè maximæ, tollere, efficereque, ut magna cum voluptate divinis fruamur donis; id verò ars medica unicè ſibi habet propoſitum, eoque in primis nomine plurimi facienda eſt.

Accipite jam aliud argumentum, auditores, quo perſuaſum habeatis medicinam maximo in honore eſſe habendam. Mirabiles medicinæ effectus modò mihi cogitate. Experientiam veſtram appello, rerumque humanarum uſum: nonne ſæpenumero factum meminiſtis, ut difficillimis morbis impliciti homines, ac prorſus jam deſperati, medicamentis prudenter adhibitis, è mediâ morte in vitam quaſi poſtlimínio redierint? An verò hæc parva res videri cuiquam poteſt? Niſi quis fortè reperiatur, qui ſe ipſe vitamque ſuam oderit. Hinc maximis ſæpe honoribus, hinc ingentibus præmiis affectos medicos nullæ non teſtantur hiſtoriæ. Sed quid ego ad teſtimonium hiſtorias cito? In ſe modò quiſque mihi deſcendat, atque apud ſe cogitet, quam vehementer, in mortis articulo conſtitutus, deploratuſque jam, ac pene depoſitus, cuperet è mortis faucibus cripi, priſtinæque ſanitati reſtitui: nec erit obſcurum, quantum ſit, quod medicinæ ſcientiæ debetur.

Quid porro eſt medicinâ antiquius? Quippe quæ jam inde à mundi primordiis frequentata in hunc uſque durat diem, magiſque ac magis amplificatur augeturque quotidie, nec ullo unquam ceſſabit tempore, quamdiu aliqui in mundo reperientur homines. Imò nec celebratior ars ulla unquam aut fuit, aut erit. Quotuſquiſque enim

eſt, qui quæcunque audierit medicæ artis præcepta, ea non memoriæ diligenter mandet, non annotet atque exſcribat ſedulò, datâque occaſione cuivis laboranti non libens impertiat? Quid æquius eſt, quam ut huc omnes curas dirigamus, omneſque intendamus nervos, ut laborantibus opem ferre poſſimus ejuſdem nobiſcum naturæ ac fati conſortibus? Quid pium magis dici poteſt, quam ſi in hoc toti ſimus, ut debito in afflictos officio fungamur, eoſque è ſuis calamitatibus liberemus? Nec quicquam majus vero hic à me dicitur; neque quicquam quod humanas excedat vires medicis adſcribimus. Res enim ipſa docet quam minimo negotio, quamque uno, ut ſic loquar, digitulo multis graviſſimè laborantibus ſæpè clariſſimi medici opitulati ſint. Neque tam difficilis ars medica eſt, ut captum humanum excedat: & tamen habet ubi perſpicaciſſimi ſe exerceant, operæque pretium faciant. Itaque & facilitas medicinæ nos allicere ad ejus ſtudium poteſt, & quæ in ea eſt difficultas, faciet ne nimiâ facilitate nobis ſordeat. Difficilia ſunt quæ pulchra, nec quicquam eſt excellente viro dignius, quam ut in difficillimis rebus operam ponat. Nihil quoque medicinæ cognitione & exercitatione eſt jucundius: ſeu quis in morbis noſcendis verſetur, eorumque vim ac naturam conſideret, cauſas ſcrutetur, deprehendat effectus; ſeu medicamenta examinet, ex iiſque eorum vires, relictâ omni fæce, ope ignis eliciat, & eorum compoſitioni mixtioniqueanimum intendat; ſeu quis anatomiæ, membrorumque diſſectioni operetur, ut abditas corporis partes oculis animoque luſtret ſimul atque admiretur; ſeu quis philoſophiæ medicinæ ancillanti

lanti incumbat; ſive denique præſtantiſſimorum medicorum obſervationibus legendis animum oblectare velit. Honeſtius autem, viroque magis decorum, ac homine ſapiente dignum, quid obſecro inter omnes artes, ſcientiaſque dici poteſt? Enimvero nihil eſt glorioſius, quam non modò jacentes languenteſque erigere; ſed, quod ſolius medicinæ eſt, ex ipſa quoque morte ſuſcitare homines. De utilitate medicinæ ſi quicquid res ipſa ſuppeditat memorare vellem, quam latus hic ſe campus aperiret, in quo exſultandi exſpatiandique nullus penè eſſet finis: ſed nolim abuti patientiâ veſtrâ, auditores, contentus uno duntaxat attigiſſe verbo, quanta ſit medicinæ vis, tum in variis malis depellendis, tum in afferendo vero ſolidoque bono. Quicquid eſt graviſſimorum morborum, eſt verò plurimum; ac ſæpe jam

- - - Macies & nova febrium
Terris incubuit cohors;

novique & antea incogniti morbi infeſtant miſeros mortales: ſed quicquid horum eſt, ſola medicina vincere poteſt; neque ullus omnino morbus eſt tam vehemens, qui à perito medico in tempore accerſito, accedente ope divinâ, curari nequeat. Quam multis miſeriis affligi homines quotidie cernimus, à quibus medicorum ope feliciſſimè liberantur plurimi; qui niſi venienti morbo occurriſſent, monſtrumque horrendum ferti animo debellaſſent, jam in immenſum creviſſent acerbiſſima pariter atque innumera mala, actumque jamdudum foret de toto genere humano. Bonum verò, quod affert medi-

medicina hominibus, tantum eſt, ut ſine eo nihil boni ſuperſit in vitâ homini. Hæc facit ut bonâ integrâque utatur valetudine; qua qui careat, eum omnium bonarum rerum carere uſu, quis obſecro inficiabitur? Nec ſemel duntaxat atque iterum hoc præſtat medicina: ſed quoties adverſus quodvis morbi genus rectè medicamenta adhibentur fieri omnino nequit, ut non iidem ſemper ſubſequantur effectus. Quid? quod tam neceſſaria hominibus eſt ars medica, ut ſine eâ ne vivere quidem poſſint. Quod philoſophia animo eſt, id medicina eſt corpori; eæque conjunctæ dare poſſunt, quod eſt in vita maximè optandum, ut mens ſana ſit in ſano corpore. Medicinam è vitâ tolle, facilè in periculoſiſſimos morbos incidemus, unde emergere difficile erit. Quoties morbus aliquis hominem invaſit, ita augeſcere continuò malum videmus, ut niſi venienti morbo ejuſve principiis obſtemus, actum ſit de vitâ hominis: tantum abeſt ut quiſquam ſperare debeat fore, ut vis mali non adhibitâ medicinâ per ſe evaneſcat. Quam multos medicinæ neglectus è medio ſuſtulit, aut ad miſerias non dicendas redegit, ſummiſque doloribus aut cruciatibus affecit, quibus mederi facillimum in initio fuiſſet? Atque id quidem tam certum ac tam manifeſtum eſt, ut negari nullo modo poſſit. Medicina ſola eſt, quæ ſanitatem tuetur, dolores levat, morbos tollit. Quò ergo confugies, quiſquis es, à deo immortali in hujus vitæ poſſeſſione collocatus, ubi

- - - condoluit tentatum frigore corpus,
Aut aliquis caſus lecto te affixit, - - -

ingra-

ingraveſcente in horas morbo? Nonne implorato dei optimi maximi auxilio medicis te committes? Enimvero ſi ſapies, niſi lucis tibi ademptæ reus eſſe velis. Hæc eſt, quæ in ipſo rerum articulo, temporeque maximè neceſſario ſola ſecundum deum ſervare hominem poteſt. Omnes te vires corporis deſerunt? Nec in ſolito cibo potuque quicquam præſidii eſt? Ecce adeſt in ipſo tempore ars medica, quæ tibi opem ſalutemque afferat. Unde quivis facilè videat, quanti medicina nobis facienda ſit.

Venio ad eâ, quæ à nonnullis, qui minùs medicinæ favent, minúſque honorificè de eâ ſentiunt, ad ejus contemptum vulgò dicuntur: quæ quanquam pauca ſunt, neque ratione nituntur ullâ, atque adeo vix confutatione digna videntur; tamen ne nimium fortè ſibi placeant maledicentiſſimi homines, aut ab his decepti ſpecie veri imprudentes; audire libet atque excutere, quid tandem ab his ad medicinæ vituperationem afferri poſſit. Agite nunc, adeſte, atque in lucem huc, & in medium prodite, qui mordere clanculum ac verbis lacerare medicinam ſoletis. Quid eſt, inquam, quod ignorantia veſtra ac ſtupiditas adverſus veram ſolidamque medicæ artis gloriam objiciat? Hi maculam ſoli affricabunt ſcilicet. Concurrant omnes, quicquid eſt hominum curioſorum, qui in rebus alienis tam acutum cernunt, quam aut aquila, aut ſerpens Epidaurius, in propriis verò rebus prorſus cæcutiunt; ſatyrici, inquam, comici, mimi, ſanniones, aſtrologi: nunquam quicquam dicent quo medicinæ laudes imminuant. Niſi fortè unum hoc medicis exprobrent, quod

Interdum doctâ plus valet arte malum.

Miſelli

Miſelli homunciones, addo etiam fatui improbique, qui boni auctoris verbis tam turpiter abutantur. Quid? num hi à medicis exigunt, ut omnia omnino morborum genera ſemper tollant, mortem proſcribant atque è mundo expellant, vitamque hominum æternam faciant, contra legem ſummi rerum humanarum arbitri, qua ſemel mori omnibus eſt conſtitutum? Enimvero hi ſtultè de medicinâ judicant, eique affingunt, quod ne optare quidem ulli medico fas eſt. Satis præclarè cum obnoxio innumeris morbis ſuo ipſius vitio genere humano egit deus, quod ei immerenti medicinam medicoſque, quos magno in pretio à nobis haberi vult, tam benignè largitus eſt; qui omnes, quicunque hominem in vitâ morbi invadunt, dextrè tollant; excepto tantummodo, cùm nos exire è ſtatione noſtrâ jubet ſummus imperator. Nec eſt quod quiſquam mihi hic reſpondeat, etiam antequam ſupremus ille & decretorius dies advenerit multos variis excruciari morbis, lentis quidem illis atque immedicabilibus. Hujus enim rei cauſa non medicæ arti adſcribenda eſt; ſed iis, qui cum ſint medicinæ imperitiſſimi, medicinæ ſcientiam tamen profiteri non verentur. A cordatis verò expertiſque medicis tantum redundat beneficiorum in genus humanum, tam multi morbi, accedente divinâ voluntate, adverſus quam fruſtra quicquam tentes, curantur, ut ſine fœdiſſimo ingrati animi crimine contemni divinitùs data atque conceſſa homini ſcientia nequeat.

Quod ſi itaque medicina, & à morbis liberat homines, quo nihil optatius iis accidere poteſt; & valetudinem conſervat, qui quidem theſaurus eſt, cum quo ne univer-

univerſas quidem conferas Perſarum gazas; quis eſt quem in admirationem ſui non rapiat divina hæc ſcientia? Parum alibi miraculorum eſt, ſi medicinam ſpectes. Nullo alio nomine tantopere gratuleris humano generi, quam demiſſâ hac cœlitùs ſcientiâ, qua graviſſimis morbis tam facilè occurritur. Ite nunc ter & amplius beati mortales, poſtquam vobis ingenti benignitatis divinæ munere datum eſt, quo conſolemini ſortis veſtræ infelicitatem. O ſcientia admirabilis, atque omni laude, prædicatione, literis, monumentiſque decoranda! nunquam de te quicquam tam magnificè dicam, id merita quin ſuperent tua. Salve morborum expultrix, vitæ conſervatrix, incredibili quadam majeſtate conſpicua, maximis in humanum genus meritis clara, nullâ non laude digna, ſed omni major; perge, quod facis, eripe è ſummis miſeriis graviſſimiſque morbis afflictos: inſtaura humanum genus: effunde in nos, optimis hominî in vitâ rebus refertiſſimum, copiæ cornu. Actum eſt de vitâ mortalium, niſi tu cœlo demiſſa nos reſpicias: tu ſola, accedente ope divinâ, quicquid languet jacetque erigis ac reſtituis: tu luctus in gaudia convertis, ac propè mortuos reducis in vitam. Utinam plurimi exiſtant, qui pulcherrimæ arti excolendæ manum admoveant. Hic ego vos, quos divinâ benignitas in auctioribus lætioribuſque rebus collocavit, moneo hortorque, ut præclariſſimæ arti pretium ſuum rectè ponentes, ei potiſſimùm addiſcendæ incumbatis. Non eſt ars ulla ingenuo homine dignior, neque ubi plus valeat, vel ingenium, vel judicium. Agite igitur generoſior juventutis propago, quibus valere

lere ingenio præ cæteris divinitùs datum eſt, in præclariſſimâ arte operam veſtram collocate, nunquam laboris inſumpti vos pœnitebit, neque uberiores ullâ aliâ ex arte capietis fructus. Hîc eſt, ubi exerceatis nobiliſſimas animi veſtri dotes: vel dum magnâ cum laude diſcetis, quæ ab aliis rectè inventa ſunt; vel cum aliorum inventis aliquid addetis, perperam intellecta corrigetis, utiliſſimamque artem multò quam fuerat conſummatiorem abſolutioremque reddetis.

DIXI.

Appendix Two: Animal Functions

I

Not least among the many conclusions of the ancients that must be given much consideration is the idea that they had of the operations of animals. For, seeing beasts perform feats such as even a man of great perseverance could not accomplish, they thought themselves justified in concluding that beasts were endowed with some thought. And this idea has gained strength among men to such a degree that we can now see an almost countless number of books, both of the ancients and of recent authors, defiled by the minds of animals. And so, looking for a subject that I could put forward in public, I chose this one rather than any of the others.

II

Nearly all the philosophers who have written about this thing, however many there were, differ in naming that entity which they attributed to animals besides the organic body. And, because of that, so that I may proceed in an orderly way I have decided first, to examine the general arguments brought forward by those people who support the idea of sense and cognition in brute creatures; and then, to set forth some of the main ideas of those philosophers; and finally, to add my opinion to all these things.

There are generally two principal arguments by which men are

motivated to attribute thought to animals, of which the first is derived from the very operations of animals. This calls on the witness of daily experience, as well as of many astonishing stories, to prove the existence of a mind in animals. But, among the many creatures which they adduce as proof of these things, bees occupy first place. In fact they cannot imagine how, if endowed with no thought, the bees can elect a king among themselves and his attendants, workers, look-outs, etc.; and how they can build their hexagonal cells so geometrically and at fixed times fill them with honey; and finally, how they can accomplish many other things, as much political as military. But all these things, if examined without prejudice, prove, I believe, nothing less than the existence of their reasoning power. Indeed, those words 'king', 'attendants', 'polity', and 'warfare' are merely fictions of men. Because, seeing those insects function as generally among mankind a king, attendants, etc. are moved to do, they gave such names to these little animals on account of that similarity: names which are, in fact, no more suited to bees than to the wooden pieces used in a game of chess. And so all of these things, astonishing as they are, prove only this: that they have some movements similar to our own. What then, I ask you, would be the conclusion of this: bees are animated as we are, therefore they think and feel like us? That's no conclusion at all.

The other argument they advance asks us what then is the purpose, if animals do not feel, of those sense organs that are very similar to our own? The answer is very simple, of course - because they perform similar functions in their organic body. For example, animal's eyes receive images just as ours do; volatile

particles enter their nostrils in the same way, they twitch the tiny fibres and they perform other organic actions as in our body. If they want to call that sense, that is fine by me, provided that thought is absent. Nothing is required here besides the organic body and motion. But they will insist perhaps that since animal's bodies are so similar to ours, why then do they not enjoy souls similar to ours? My reply is that there does not seem to me to be any logical connection here. To make it clear, however, what kind of a question this is, I will propose to those people another one not dissimilar to it. Why surely doesn't the monkey who, no less then us, has a tongue, lips, teeth and other organs appropriate to forming the elements of speech, talk in the same way as us, since the parrot, in whom many of these organs are missing, sometimes, none the less, distinctly pronounces words? Thus these arguments cannot incontrovertibly demonstrate the existence of animal's thoughts. But, I certainly admit that, to a man sticking to his prejudices, they present them as probable.

III

Having dealt with these things, let us see how philosophers variously define this bestial soul. Plato, Pythagoras and others, believing the soul to be something peculiar to each body and , as Thales said, "All things are full of gods", attributed a similar soul to animals as to us, something which, I confess, I think can scarcely be refuted by apodictic reason. For no-one will ever demonstrate mathematically that birds, mules, wild beasts, fish and insects do not think in the same way as us. Who, I ask you, will prove to someone affirming the contrary that a dog receiving blows

from a stick does not feel the same pain as a man would feel himself if he were beaten? On the contrary, that is so far from being able to be proven by mere reason, that, from the similarity of the phenomena, we are rather more likely to conclude that animals possess thought or understanding similar to men's. Indeed if we consider that we are distinguished from the rest of the living creatures by having an immortal soul it will now be obvious that animals do not at least enjoy the same soul as us; but as to whether some sort of one, whatever in fact it might be like, could be attributed to them, more of that later.

Next to be considered is Hobbes, who, like Plato, ascribes the same thought to us and to animals. But he differs in this; that he judges them to be corporeal, and says that they are derived solely from the motion and reaction of the various parts. Who doesn't perceive how novel, absurd, and impious this is? It is novel because no-one was of this opinion before him, and absurd, as anyone consulting their conscience will find out: is it any different to argue with someone who denies all principles than with someone who wants to convince an opponent that a wall, that is in reality white, is black? Finally, it is impious because who doubts that it entirely contradicts all religious scruples. Thus we will no longer persevere with this thesis which no-one, as far as I know, today defends.

Gassendi is next, believing that some kind of an accumulation of the finest particles of the body constitutes the soul of animals, and that it works in them like a little flame for as long as they live; but because those particles, however small and mobile indeed they may be, remain corporeal, and we admit no degree of thought to

anything corporeal, deservedly we conclude that this definition is either false or that thought in animals does not follow from it.

I move on finally then to the peripatetics, several of whose contemporary supporters define the soul of animals thus: they say, "There is in brutes a principle of life, sensation and true cognition". It is appropriate to inspect this definition more carefully than the rest both because its proponents are held in honour and because almost all of those who are opposed to us today favour it.

IV

Firstly, therefore, so that we can understand them, what they mean by 'substantial principle' must be looked at. We give the name substance to that which subsists by itself, the concept of which does not involve the concept of any other thing. Thus I have the concept of thought; this does not, however, involve in itself the concept of extension, and vice versa. But besides these two, no other substance is admitted. Because no-one can imagine any kind of concept which does not involve either the concept of thought, or extension, or of both, this 'substantial principle' is therefore necessarily soul (for thought cannot be attributed to the body) and differing indeed in no way from the human, since a medium between the soul and the body is in now way admitted. Who, then, will not marvel that men who know the true God hold such absurd views? There is no reason why anyone should say, that the animal soul is in fact living, feeling and knowing but is nonetheless and irrational and mortal substance. For, as far as rationality is concerned, I do not think it can be denied to animals once thought thought has been

conceded. Indeed, if someone posits the notion that animals do not operate automatically, i.e. that they do not accomplish their actions solely by the disposition of their organs or the diversity of objects, but that they need thought and true cognition to perform those actions, then surely he will discover rationality in many operations of animals no less than in those of men. To this end, I cite all the accounts so carefully researched by the Peripatetics, by which they investigate the wondrous operations of animals; and all these, many as they are, once thought has been conceded to animals, will likewise militate for their rationality. As, for example, this example brought forward by the adversaries themselves to demonstrate the soul of animals. "Why to be sure", they say, "does a dog, when it has stolen something, being hungry, slink off and proceeds so diffidently that it greets no-one who meets it; but, fearfully guarding itself from punishments, with its snout down and turned aside, goes its way". Behold the dog, hungry, diffident, fearful, wary, and lastly, displaying the faculty of reasoning at its best. For what else will they prove from that thought which they give to the dog than that it reasons to itself, that when someone sees the stolen item, he will perhaps snatch it away from him, and on account of the theft committed, beat him, so it is better to turn aside his muzzle and to greet no-one enthusiastically, in case he exchanges the delicacy for a harsh punishment; which alone shows that thought without rationality cannot be attributed to animals

V

It remains now for me to show that the 'substantial principle',

already cited frequently here, cannot be conceived of unless it is immortal, which will be extremely easy if we consider these two points. Firstly, the eternal decrees of God are immutable. Secondly, the act itself of creating substance is, in God, no different from the decree by which he decides to create it; and from this true idea we have of the eternity and immutability of God, it will follow that creative substance will not be annihilated? Someone recently proved this elegantly in his disputation on the mind's immortality, with these words, "Truly, what is more evident", he said, "than that the decree by which God decides he will create soul, i.e. being the power with which God creates the soul, differs from the decree by which God decides that he would destroy soul, i.e. being the power with which God would destroy a soul, to the same extent as the existence of mind differs from its non-existence".

But why am I wasting time in a long examination? Those very adversaries are tacitly trying to ascribe immortality to this substance. While busying themselves with the operations of animals and investigating whether sacred scripture would concede soul to them, they speak thus: "So that I may not be too prolix in these things", i.e. in sacred things, "I omit the most efficacious texts in which cognition is attributed to animals, and a death similar to men, etc." And so that we do not think that they accept such passages of sacred scripture metaphorically, they immediately go on to condemn those people who declare that those passages should be understood in a transferred manner. Now I ask you all, whether it is possible to elicit any other meaning from these remarks than either that they are claiming that the soul of

animals, like our own, is immortal, or perhaps that both the souls of men as well as animals, are mortal? Neither of which ideas, however, I think they will prove. Surely in either case it is certain that no distinction is clearly made between men and animals, since we have proved that this substance, which they want to appear to be a thinking substance, is also necessarily both rational and immortal. The one we deduce from their own arguments and examples, the other we deduced as much from their own words as from a true idea of God.

Now, how well their opinion conforms with religious principles, I leave to the judgment of all those who are endowed with a sound mind. I add one thing, this: that I am greatly amazed by those who, seeing Descartes' disciples refusing to concede the same death to animals as to men, warn them that "they are not by the same method to weaken the words of scripture which demonstrate the human soul to be a substantial principle and to survive beyond death". At this point it could neatly be shown how close they make beasts to men by this means, but in order to have done with them, I reply briefly: they are not to be uneasy about it; the Cartesians love the human mind too much, in as much as it seems to them extremely unwise to share their blessed condition with the beasts. It remains now for me to add to these things my own opinion of animal functions.

VI

After I had often meditated on this subject, proposing to myself on the one side, the animal functions, on the other, the

extraordinary automatons constructed by mechanical arts, I was never able to find arguments that proved in an apodictic manner that animals think, or the contrary. I hesitated in doubt, therefore, for a long time. But, later on, realising that I could not attribute to animals any thought or sensation, which cannot exist without thought, unless simultaneously I attributed a substance to them, distinct from the body in every way, and thus removed all distinction, or certainly the most essential one, between men and animals, rather than be enmeshed in these consequences I preferred to persuade myself that "Animals are endowed with no thought, and all their actions are automatic". And after I adopted this idea I noticed that many functions of their lives could be explained by mechanics, which previously I thought must be controlled by thought. That many, however, remain which I cannot explain from their structure, I freely confess. But this does not present an obstacle to my denying them a soul, just as indeed someone, although not knowing the cause why, for example, a portable watch indicates the time so accurately, nevertheless from its small size will be able to conclude that there is not a man in the watch and that a cause for its motion exists. Thus indeed, although I cannot know the reason why animals perform such operations, I can, however, with justification deny that a soul is the cause of their execution. It is equally contradictory to propose that animals think, and yet are really to be distinguished from us, as to propose that a man is in the watch. Let us not be afraid here to return to God's omnipotence which our adversaries so boast that they attribute everywhere to God and that is better in this context than to settle on contradictions, especially if we consider what marvellous automatons are produced every day with very few

organs, and we compare them with those innumerable bones, muscles, veins, arteries, sinews, and other organs with which we see the bodies of animals to be abundantly provided. I could add more to these things, but believing that, with God's blessing, they can be dealt with in a mutual discussion.

I FINISH

Corollaries

I

Doubt is useful for investigating the truth.

II

I think, therefore I am is the best principle.

III

God does not act indifferently.

IV

Besides thought and extension no substance is admitted.

V

It is not permissible to attribute thought to animals without rationality.

VI

From that, because we really are distinguished from animals, it best we conclude that they do not think.

VII

Vacuum is neither admitted, nor can it be admitted.

VIII

Rest is equally as real as motion.

DISPUTATIO PHILOSOPHICA

DE

Brutorum Operationibus.

QUAM

ANNUENTE SUMMO NUMINE,

SUB PRÆSIDIO

Clarissimi, Acutissimique Viri

D. BURCHERI DE VOLDER, Medicinæ & Philosophiæ Doctoris, hujusque, ut & Matheseos in Illustri Academia Lugd.-Batav. Professoris Ordinarii.

Publice defendendam assumit

BERNARDUS DE MANDEVILLE, Rotter.-Bat.

Ad diem 23 Mart. loco horisque solitis, ante meridiem.

LUGDUNI BATAVORUM,
Apud ABRAHAMUM ELZEVIER,
Academiæ Typograph. MDC LXXXIX.

Doctiſſimo ac Reverendo Viro

Do. MICHAELI DE MANDEVILLE, apud Rotterodamenſes Artis Medicæ practico expertiſſimo, patri ſuo ſemper colendo.

UT ET

Ampliſſimo, integerrimoque Viro

Do. BERNARDO VERHAAR, Reipublicæ Schoonhovienſis Conſuli ſpectatiſſimo, graviſſimo, avo ſuo plurimum honorando.

NEC NON

Eruditiſſimo, & Celeberrimo Philoſopho

Do. BURCHERO DE VOLDER, Medicinæ & Philoſophiæ Doctori, hujuſque facultatis, ut & Matheſeos in Illuſtri Academia Lugd. Batav. Profeſſori acutiſſimo, diſertiſſimo, Præſidi ſuo omni honore proſequendo.

Se & haſce theſes offert

B. DE MANDEVILLE

Auctor & Reſp.

DISPUTATIO PHILOSOPHICA

DE

Brutorum Operationibus.

THES. I.

Inter multa veterum præjudicia non è minimis cenſenda eſt illa, quam de brutorum operationibus habuerunt opinio. Videntes enim belluas talia agere, quæ ne homo quidem maximæ induſtriæ efficere poſſet, merito ſe conclude.e putarunt, eas aliqua cogitatione præditas eſſe. Hæcque ſententia apud homines adeo invaſit, ut jam innumeros pæne tam veterum, quam recentium libros brutorum animis inquinatos videamus; quapropter mihi materiam publice ventilandam quærens hanc præ cæteris elegi.

I I.

Omnes fere quotquot hac de re ſcripſere Philoſophi differunt, in denominando illo ente, quod præter corpus organicum beſtiis tribuunt, ideoque, ut ordine progrediar, prius generalia argumenta, quæ ab iis, qui ſtant pro ſenſibus, & cognitione in brutis animantibus, adferuntur, examinare: poſtea aliquot ex præcipuis illorum Philoſophorum ſententiis proponere; denique his omnibus noſtram opinionem adjicere conſtitui.

Potiſſima argumenta, quibus homines brutis cogitationem tribuere moventur, vulgo duo ſunt, quorum primum ab ipſis brutorum operibus deſumtum eſt, hocque præter multas ſtupendas hiſtorias quotidianam experientiam, ad probandam brutorum animam, teſtem provocat: ſed inter multas beſtias, quæ pro ipſis argumentantur, apes primum locum obtinent; imaginari enim ſibi nequeunt, quomodo nulla cogitatione præditæ, inter ſe eligant regem, ſatellites, operarios, obſervatores, &c. cellulas ſuas ſexangulares tam geometrice ædificent, eas certis temporibus melle impleant, denique multa alia, tam politica, quam militaria efficiant; ſed hæc omnia, ſi abſque præjudicio examinentur, nihil minus, quam eorum animam probare exiſtimo; illa enim vocabula rex, ſatelles, politia, militia, &c. mera ſunt hominum figmenta, quia videntes illa inſecta eodem fere modo moveri, quo inter homines rex, ſatelles &c. moventur, ex illa ſimilitudine talia hiſce animalculis nomina dederunt, ea enim non magis apibus, quam ligneis, quibus luditur, latrunculis revera conveniunt. Cuncta itaque harum, quam ſtupenda opera, tantum hoc probant, quod habeant motus aliquos noſtris ſimiles; nam quæ eſſet quæſo illa concluſio: apes moventur ut nos, ergo ut nos ſentiunt, & cogitant; nulla certe.

Alterum, quod adhibent argumentum, nos rogat, ſi bruta non ſentiant, quorſum ergo illa ſenſuum organa, noſtris maxime ſimilia: Reſponſum facile eſt, nempe, quia in illorum corpore organico ſimilia munera obeunt. Sic ex. gr. brutorum oculi æque, ac noſtri imagines recipiunt; particulæ volati-

latiles eodem modo nares intrant, fibrillas vellicant, aliſque organicas actiones, ut in noſtro corpore, efficiunt. Quod ſi ſenſum vocare velint per me licet: modo abſit cogitatio; nihil enim hic præter corpus organicum & motum requiritur, ſed inſtabunt forſitan; cum brutorum corpora noſtris tam ſimilia ſunt, quare non anima noſtræ ſimili gaudent? nullam me hic conſequentiam videre reſpondeo, ut autem pateat, qualis hæc ſit quæſtio, aliam huic non diſſimilem illis proponam; Cur nimirum ſimia, qui non minus ac nos linguam labia, dentes, aliaque organa ſermonis elementis formandis apta habet, non eodem modo, ac nos loquatur, cum pſittacus, cui multa ex his organis deſunt diſtincte tamen aliquando verba pronuntiet. Hæc argumenta ergo brutorum cogitationes non apodictice demonſtrare queunt, ſed eas, ut verum fatear, homini ſuis præjudiciis adhærenti tanquam veriſimiles repræſentant.

III.

Hiſce excuſſis videamus, quam varie hanc brutorum animam definiant Philoſophi; Plato, Pythagoras, aliique exiſtimantes animam peculiare quid eſſe omni corpori, & ut dixit Thales *Diis omnia plena eſſe* ſimilem beſtiis, ac nobis animam dederunt, quam rem fateor, ratione apodictica vix refutari poſſe, exiſtimo. Nemo enim unquam mathematice demonſtrabit, aves, jumenta, feras, piſces, inſecta non eodem modo, ac nos cogitare: quis quæſo affirmanti probabit canem fuſte exceptum eundem dolorem non ſentire, quem homo, ſi verberaretur, in ſe perciperet? imo tantum abeſt, hoc ex mera ratione probari poſſe, ut ex phænomenum ſimilitudine potius proni reddamur, ad concludendum, bruta ſimilem cum hominibus, cogitationem ſive mentem poſſidere. Si vero conſideremus, nos in eo à cæteris animantibus diſtingui, quod animam habeamus immortalem: Jam clare patebit bruta non eadem ſaltem, ac nos anima, gaudere: an vero ali-

qua, qualiſcunque etiam ſit, illis tribui poſſit, de eo in ſequentibus.

Alter conſiderandus venit Hobbeſius, qui, ut Plato, nobis, & beſtiis eaſdem adſcribit cogitationes, ſed differt in eo, quod eas corporeas ſtatuat, & *ex ſolo motu, partiumque*, ut ait, *reactione oriri.* Quod quam novum, abſurdum, ac impium ſit quis non videt? Novum eſt, quia nemo ante ipſum in ea fuit opinione; abſurdum, quiſque conſcientiam ſuam conſulens reperiet; aliter enim argumentari cum eo, qui negat omnia principia, eſt, ac ſi quis parietem, revera album, nigrum eſſe affirmantem convincere velit; impium denique eſſe, quod omni omnino religioni refragatur quis dubitat? huic ergo theſi quam nemo hodie quod ſciam defendit non diutius inhærebimus.

Sequitur Gaſſendus ſentiens aliquam ſubtiliſſimorum corporum congeriem brutorum animam conſtituere, eamque flammulæ inſtar quamdiu vivunt in iſtis operari; ſed quia illæ particulæ, quam mobiles, & exiguæ etiam ſint tamen corpora maneant nulliſque corporibus aliquam cogitationem concedamus, merito hanc definitionem, aut falſum eſſe, aut ex ea cogitationem in brutis non ſequi, concludimus.

Pergo tandem ad Peripateticos, quorum, inter hodiernos nonnulli brutorum animam ſic definiunt. *Datur*, inquiunt, *in brutis ſubſtantiale, vitæ, ſenſationis, ac veræ cognitionis principium.* Hanc definitionem, tum, quia ejus auctores plurimi ſiunt, tum, quia quotquot fere nobis hodie adverſantur eam fovent, cæteris accuratius inſpicere lubet.

IV.

Primo itaque, ut eos intelligamus videndum eſt, quid per *principium ſubſtantiale* velint. Subſtantiam illud vocamus, quod per ſe ſubſiſtit, cujus conceptus non involvit conceptum alterius: Sic habeo conceptum cogitationis, nec tamen ille involvit in ſe conceptum extenſionis, & vice verſa. Sed præter

ter has duas alia ſubſtantia non datur ; quia nemo ſibi aliquem conceptum formare poteſt , qui non involvit conceptum , vel cogitationis , vel extenſionis , vel utriuſque , hoc ergo *principium ſubſtantiale* (corpori enim cogitatio tribui nequit) eſt neceſſario anima , & quidem nihil ab humanâ differens , quoniam medium inter animam & corpus nullum datur. Quis jam non mirabitur homines , qui verum Deum noſcunt , tam abſurda ſentire? Nec eſt , quod dicat aliquis brutorum animam , quidem viventem , ſentientem , cognoſcentem , ſed tamen irrationalem mortalemque ſubſtantiam exiſtere. Nam quod ad rationalitatem attinet, non puto eam conceſſa cogitatione , brutis negari poſſe , ſi quis enim ſtatuat bruta non automatice operari , id eſt non ex ſola organorum diſpoſitione , vel objectorum diverſitate ſuas actiones efficere, ſed , ad eas cogitatione , veraque cognitione egere , jam in multis brutorum non minus , quam hominum operibus rationalitatem deprehendet. Huc cito omnes hiſtorias à peripateticis tanto ſtudio exquiſitas , quibus mirandas brutorum operationes probant ; hæque omnes , quotquot ſunt , conceſſa brutis cogitatione , pro eorum rationalitate itidem militabunt ; ut & exemplum aliquod ab ipſis adverſariis ad demonſtrandam brutorum animam adductum. *Cur ſc. canis* , ajunt , *cum famelicus furtim quid abſtulit clam ſe ſurripit , & diffidenter adeo incedit , ut nemini occurſanti gratuletur ; ſed meticuloſe ſibi à panis cavens , roſtro prono , & averſo ſuam pergit viam.* En canem eſurientem , diffidentem, metuentem , caventem, denique optime ratiocinantem , quid enim aliud ex hâc , quam cani dant , cogitatione probabunt ; quam ipſum ſecum ratiocinari , quod ubi aliquis prædam viderit , eam ipſi fortè abripiat , ac ob furtum commiſſum verberet , adeoque conſultius eſſe roſtrum avertere , ac nemini abblandiri , ne aliquando delicatam eſcam gravi ſupplicio permutet , quo ſolo patet brutis cogitationem abſque rationalitate tribui non poſſe.

V.

Reſtat nunc ut oſtendam, illud jam ſæpe iteratum *ſubſtantiale principium*, non poſſe niſi immortale concipi; quod facillimum erit, ſi hæc duo animadvertamus; primo æterna Dei decreta immutabilia eſſe, ſecundo ipſum actum ſubſtantiam creandi, à decreto, quo ſe illam creaturum decernit in Deo nullatenus differre; & ex hac vera quam de æterno, ac immutabili Deo habemus idea, ſequetur, ipſum ſubſtantiam creatam non annihilaturum. Quod nuper aliquis in diſputatione ſua de mentis immortalitate elegantiſſime probavit, his verbis, *Quid etenim evidentius*, inquit, *quam decretum, quo Deus animam creaturum decernit, id eſt potentia qua Deus animam creat, differre eatenus à decreto, quo Deus ſe mentem deſtructurum decerneret, id eſt potentia, qua Deus animam deſtrueret, ac exiſtentia & non exiſtentia mentis.*

Sed quid tempus longa probatione tero? ipſi adverſarii tacite huic ſubſtantiæ immortalitatem adſcribere conantur: dum agentes de brutorum operationibus, & inveſtigantes, an ſacra Scriptura illis animam concederet, ſic ajunt: *Prætereo, ne prolixior ſim in hiſce*, in ſacris nempe, *efficaciſſimas phraſes, quibus brutis tribuitur cognitio, mori eadem cum hominibus, &c.* ac ne exiſtimemus, ipſos hujuſmodi ſacræ Scripturæ loca metaphorice accipere; immediate pergunt, illos culpare, qui ea improprie eſſe intelligenda affirmant. Nunc omnes rogo; an ex his alius ſenſus elici poteſt, quam vel brutorum animam, ut noſtram immortalem eſſe, vel forte ambas mortales tam hominum, quam brutorum animas ſtatuant; quarum tamen ſententiarum neutram opinor, probabunt: in utraque profecto certum eſt, inter homines, & beſtias nullam plane diſtinctionem fieri, quoniam probavimus hanc ſubſtantiam quam volunt cogitantem, neceſſario, & rationalem, & immortalem exiſtere; hoc ex ipſis eorum argumentis, exemplisque, illud tam ex ipſorum dictis, quam ex vera Dei idea deduximus.

Hæc jam illorum opinio quam bene cum religione conveniat, omnibus ſana mente præditis judicandum re-

lin-

linquo. Unum hoc addam, me illos maxime mirari, qui videntes, Carteſii aſſeclas brutis eandem mortem, cum hominibus non concedere, eos monent; *Ne eadem via dicta Scripturæ enervent, quæ animam humanam principium ſubſtantiale & poſt fata ſuperſtes eſſe demonſtrant.* Poſſet hic optime oſtendi, quam affines hominibus hoc modo beſtias faciant: ſed, ut eos miſſos faciam breviter reſpondeo; ne de eo ſolliciti ſint, Carteſianos mentem humanam nimis diligere, quippe quibus beatitudinem ſuam cum beſtiis partiri conſulte minime videtur. Supereſt nunc, ut his meam de brutorum operationibus opinionem addam.

VI.

Poſtquam hanc rem ſæpius meditatus eſſem, ab unâ parte brutorum operationes, ab alterâ mirifica automata per artes mechanicas exſtructa mihi proponens, nunquam argumenta, quæ bruta cogitare, vel contra apodictice probarunt, invenire potui. Dubius itaque diu hæſi: ſed poſtea animadvertens, me nullam cogitationem, aut ſenſum, qui abſque cogitatione eſſe non poteſt, tribuere brutis poſſe, quin ipſis ſimul tribuam ſubſtantiam, à corpore toto genere diſtinctam, ſicque diſtinctionem omnem, aut certe maxime eſſentialem inter homines, & bruta tollerem, malui mihi perſuadere *Beſtias nulla cogitatione præditas, omneſque illarum actiones automaticas eſſe*, quam illis conſequentiis implicari. Et poſtquam hanc fovi ſententiam, animadverti, multa illorum vitæ munera mechanice explicari poſſe, quæ antea ex cogitatione deducenda eſſe putaveram; plurima autem reſtare, quæ ex eorum ſtructura explicare nequeo, libenter confiteor; ſed nec hoc obſtat, quo minus illis animam negem: quemadmodum enim aliquis, etſi neſciat cauſam; cur ex. gr. horologium portatile tam accurate horas indicet: attamen ex ejus parvitate optime concludere poteſt, hominem huic horologio non ineſſe, cauſamque ejus motus exiſtere. Sic etiam quamvis ignorem rationem,

quare

quaſe bruta tales operationes efficiant, poſſum tamen merito negare, illorum effectuum cauſam animam eſſe: ponere enim bruta cogitare, & tamen à nobis realiter diſtingui, æque contradictorium, quàm horologio hominem ineſſe, exiſteret. Ne etiam hic vereamur ad Dei omnipotentiam recurrere, quam ſe ubique Deo tribuere tantopere jactitant adverſarii: & illud hoc loco multò melius, quam in contradictoriis convenire exiſtimo, præſertim, ſi conſideremus, quam mirabilia automata paucis admodum organis quotidie efficiuntur, eaque comparemus cum innumeris illis, tam oſſibus, quam muſculis, venis, arteriis, nervis, aliiſque organicis, quibus abunde inſtructa brutorum corpora videmus. His plura adderem: ſed de illis Deo favente in mutuo diſcurſu melius agi poſſe exiſtimans

FINIO.

COROLLARIA.

I.

Inveſtiganti veritatem utilis eſt dubitatio.

II.

Cogito, ergo ſum eſt optimum principium.

III.

Deus non agit indifferens.

IV.

Præter Cogitationem, & extenſionem nulla datur ſubſtantia.

V.

Brutis Cogitatio abſque rationalitate tribui nequit.

VI. *Ex*

V I.

Ex eo, quod realiter à brutis diſtinguimur, optime concludimus illa non cogitare.

V I I.

Vacuum, nec datur, nec poteſt dari.

V I I I.

Quies eſt æque realis, ac motus.

F I N I S.

Appendix Three: Deficient Chylification

I

While I was considering the choice of a particular subject to be advanced by explaining and defending it in public disputation, the generation of deficient chyle called attention to itself more than any other topic: both because the malady is extremely common everywhere, and because many more serious illnesses derive their origin from this fount of evils.

II

Defective chylification, however, is divided into three areas by practitioners and they are as follows: βραδυπεψία , or 'slowness of digestion', 'diminished' perhaps; ἀπεψία , or 'complete lack of digestive power'; and δυσπεψία , or 'difficulty of digestion'. As for the etymology of these terms, they are derived from the Greek word πέπτω - 'coquo' in Latin, and affixed to the first of them is βραδύς , or 'slow'. Affixed to the second is 'α' privative, and to the third the particle which in compounds means 'badly', 'with effort' or 'with difficulty'. These three defects of stomach digestion are all known by the one name - indigestion.

III

However, before we come to the explanation of those diseased states of chylosis, I think it would not be irrelevant to examine its natural state first. Food having been consumed, chewed by the

teeth, mixed with saliva flooding from glands into the mouth and swallowed down by the muscles of the aesophagus, is carried into the stomach. There it is transformed into a porridge-like fluid which is called chyle, and consequently the whole process is called chylification and, in accordance with the actual process, is named 'digestion' by the ancients, 'fermentation' by the moderns.

I V

According to their own statements, the ancients believed a certain heat, innate to the stomach, to be the primary cause of this chylification. But, because we see fish digesting food without heat, dogs consuming bones and chickens consuming gravel we have to conclude that heat is an insufficient explanation for this action. Who, I ask you, can employ a process which consists solely of a motion and only ever differs in degree, to explain the diversity of the digestive process in virtually every species of animal, even those nourished by the same food? Everyone acknowledges that turtle-doves effortlessly digest hellebore and dogs consume glass of antimony without any vomiting. From this it is manifestly clear that the cause of digestion is one thing in a man and another in a dog, even if they are nourished by the same food. Moreover, in fevers, when heat is much increased through the whole body, while the appetite is ruined the digestion is also completely absent or at least found to be greatly impaired.

V

With 'canine hunger', on the other hand, it is the very opposite; in this case the appetite is huge and digestion is quick, yet heat at that time is only minimally increased. Finally, all acids are said to be cold yet they stimulate appetite and promote digestion. And likewise from the case of most hypochondriacs, whose stomach, although reckoned to be cold, often craves food passionately and digests it with speed, it is clearly proven that heat does not produce this digestion. From all of which I judge it sufficiently demonstrated that heat is not the primary cause of this operation.

V I

As the 'powers' have by now been firmly rejected everywhere, all that remains to us is to support the principle of fermentation and say that there is in the stomach a certain juice which stirs up food like baker's yeast and transforms it by the means of that fermentation. This juice is naturally constituted at a volatile temperature as acid and consists partly of chyle remaining here and there in the folds of the stomach, and partly of animal spirits brought down there from the brain through vessels opening into the stomach. There were those, however, who wanted that fermenting substance to be carried into the stomach from the spleen: but because they were never able to show that there were any ducts through which such juice could be carried from the spleen into the stomach, we rightly reject that supposition.

V I I

So, that juice falls on the contents in the stomach which have been already reduced to a certain extent before this and washed by saliva. It penetrates, dissolves and stimulates them to fermentation by means of its acid volatility. At this point it would be possible to explain more fully what fermentation is but, though purposely unwilling to set that forth here (it would take too long), I will at least say this. Fermentation is an internal, expansive movement that takes place in a suitably moist, unconfined space, arriving without a perceptible cause and made with the total or partial transformation of the fermented material. Now when this fermentation is proceeding by natural means, good chylification follows; so, on the other hand, if it is damaged in any way, the generation of chyle is also impaired and as the former is called good digestion, so the latter is called indigestion.

V I I I

This indigestion, however, is divided into 'acid' and 'foetid'. 'Acid' occurs when food changes into acid juice that is not sufficiently volatilised. Indigestion is properly said to be 'foetid' when the food is corrupted so that it changes into a putrid liquid which has a horrible taste and is entirely useless for nutrition. As for the immediate cause of these defects: this will either be in the stomach itself, or its spoiled ferment or a fault in the food consumed. Damaged chylification which is due to some fault of the stomach is caused by all diseases of the stomach, including even some secondary ones. For the authorities tell us that faults of

chylification have often arisen from ensiform cartilage, warts attached to the stomach and from the kidneys which, when affected by stone, poison the stomach by nervous sympathy.

I X

The stomach ferment is depraved firstly when it is not sufficiently volatile, but consists entirely of acid that is too stodgy or which has a strange sourness in a tainted stomach. Indeed, if we look again at hypochondriacs, food, once consumed, is in fact readily fallen on by the ferment and dissolved; however, because the ferment is so deprived of volatile salt it doesn't provide what the fermentation needs for food or what is necessary for good chyle; but, on the contrary, not only does it fail to rectify the less suitable foods; but, with its excessively stodgy sourness it even transforms those which are abundantly provided with volatile salts into an excessively acid mass, from which arises in particular that indigestion which is called acid.

X

Secondly, the ferment is damaged when it is formed from a perverse peristaltic movement, so that bile floods back into the stomach and there weakens the natural acid of the ferment by means of its oily, volatile salt. So, as a result, its particles which are otherwise sharp enough to break up foods are now surrounded by oily parts of bile and thus dulled. Consequently they become useless for penetrating and dissolving the food ingested in the

stomach and for preparing it for an adequate fermentation; and from that condition springs 'foetid' indigestion. Having dealt with the usual aspects of fermentation in general it will be worthwhile for a doctor to examine more carefully those particular varieties of ferment which we observe daily. Indeed we are amply informed that not only in diverse species of animals but in each man individually that diversity of ferment is also conspicuous, by reason of which, as appetite varies so does the entire digestion of foods. And so that, that which one man desires passionately and digests quite easily another rejects or can only digest with difficulty. From which it follows that appetite seems to be an indicator of what must be consumed. For generally that which is willingly consumed is easily digested, since those things which are desired are nearly always congenial to the stomach's ferment, and those which are kind to it are more easily dissolved by it than others and stirred to fermentation.

X I

For this reason Hippocrates tells us in the *Aphorisms*; that the appetizing is more easily digested than the unappetizing: which is certainly proven by women, especially pregnant women, swollen and suffering from labour. Tulpius has an observation in Book 2, chapter 24, 'Of Pregnant Women', of a woman who, throughout the period of gestation, devoured 1400 pickled fish without harm. Platerus, in an observation, refers to a girl who ate an onion which had previously been applied to a plague swelling, also without any harm: although it can't be doubted that the onion was plainly

infected with poison. Now how was it possible that those desired foods, no less poisonous than they were disgusting, were digested by those women without harm, if they were not kind and amenable to the stomach's ferment? It follows from this that the familiarity of foods accomplishes much in these cases and to that extent it is important that the doctor take account of it, and Hippocrates himself says that in all illnesses the familiar must be preferred, though it may be worse, to the unfamiliar, better though this may be.

XII

I proceed now to the other fault of chylification, namely the one arising from consumed foods. 1* Foods create problems when they are ingested in too great an abundance and are unable to be easily digested. The reason for this is, given that each fermentative menstruum requires a necessary proportion of the object upon which it must act, if now too great a quantity of food is ingested, the ferment is overwhelmed to such an extent that it neither sufficiently dissolves nor properly volatilizes these same foods by fermenting. Thus it is when foods are too plentifully digested after receiving the fermentative bitter substance which however is too weak to cause them to ferment, they turn into a crude and acid paste. 2* Too much drink dissolves the ferment, it renders it sluggish by diluting it and accordingly makes foods float about in the stomach and thus they are impeded in their due fermentation. Another result of this (something which cannot be omitted) is that the fibres of the stomach are rendered so relaxed and flaccid that food, although digested, can not be easily expelled through the

pylorus, as a result of which, food retained for too long in the stomach is tainted and brings about many ills.

XIII

3* Variety of food troubles digestion; indeed, however much the stomach's ferment has the power to fully dissolve various foods, it is nevertheless certain that it is all the more drawn to one food than to another. Thus if acid foods are ingested with sweet foods, or fat foods together with lean, it is unavoidable that the ferment acts on one more than on another, so that the digestion is impaired and that many digestive problems are created. When there is residual mucus in the stomach, that which is not adequately digested is passed through the pylorus with difficulty; as a result of which, that raw and acid mucilage overwhelms both the nervous fibres of the stomach and the ferment itself. As far as the quality of food is concerned, it is certain that acid indigestions are derived from the consumption of too great a quantity of acid foods; and from too many fats, foetid indigestions. So too harder foods in general, which are digested with more difficulty, cause damage, as indeed do those which are too cold, moist and gassy. Having explained the causes, so that we may preserve a sense of order, let us move on to the diagnostic symptoms which are generally these.

XIV

The sick complain about having a sore stomach after a meal, of its flatulence, of continual belching lasting for 5 or 6 hours after

the food's consumption, and continually repeating the taste of the particular food. They more frequently complain of difficulty in breathing when lying on their back or when walking: sometimes the face is flushed, sometimes the appetite is non-existent and, especially in the morning large quantities of mucus, rising from the stomach, reaches the mouth. In acid indestion the sufferer's belches are acidic and there is much gassiness. Everything which is brought up by vomiting is pituitous, viscid and thick, with an acid flavour if tasted. In truly foetid indigestion the belches are stinking and rasping and to the sick taste like eggs, rotten fish, fried oil and similar disagreeable things. That which is brought up by vomiting is runny, completely insipid or not very sour.

X V

As for the prognosis, faulty digestion which is produced by external causes is easily corrected; likewise the type which arises from fluids carried from other parts of the body into the stomach is more easily cured than one which originates from the stomach itself. It is advisable however that the doctor should always be cautious here in his prognosis. If indeed the indigestion is of long standing, it produces the gravest consequences of all. If digestion is damaged by inebriety and the evil persists for a long time, apeptic dropsy is to be feared and if it is not corrected quickly then as usual lientery will follow. For, when the ferment does not fall onto the contents of the stomach nor adapts them to fermentation in any way, those contents undergo certainly little or no change. Besides this, from acid indigestion arise colic, jaundice, diarrhoea,

dysentery, celiac flux, haemorrhoids, constipation etc. Indeed when the sourness is increased and distributed throughout the mass of blood, there arise fevers, as much running fevers as intermittent ones, scurvy, the illness of hypochondria and many others of a similar nature. In the next stage that acid, now in a corrosive state, seizes the joints and produces from that all sort of arthritic complaints. Finally, it can be the cause of all the chronic illnesses which are thought to arise from obstructions of the bowels, the mesenterium, liver and spleen. It is therefore accepted that this impaired chylification is the affect from which, as if from an ocean of illnesses, the rest of the affects derive their origin. And, because of that, haste is imperative so that, some way or another, remedies are prepared for this evil.

X V I

In treatment, therefore, the aim should be firstly to remove all those impurities of the stomach, the mucus and the juices remaining in the stomach which are acid and thick because of their long inactivity. Secondly, as far as it is possible, to adjust the ferment and restore it to its natural state. Basically vomiting emetics are more suitable than anything else, and among these antimonials are preferable; for instance, emetic wines with glass of antimony, tartar emetic and quicksilver. Liquids, though, are to be preferred above everything else because powders, as they often inhere in the folds of the stomach, produce convulsive vomiting. As an example this formula can be prescribed.

℔. Crocus of Antimony.
or
Glass of antimony viii gr. or x. It is not of any importance provided the quantity is carefully attended to.
Add Spanish wine ℥ ii β , for stronger patients ℥ iii.

Let them stand overnight in a warm place. In the morning they should be strained through a filter-paper and thus given as a warm draught to the patient. He should drink after the hour or when he feels nauseous warm beer mixed with butter. To which one may often add tickling - goose feathers pushed down the throat - in order to induce vomiting more easily. And, as with the antimonials, the same method can be used for the mercurials.

XVII

In the second place follow the stomach remedies; for example, root of zedoary, elecampane, sweet flag, ginger, lesser galangale, pimpernel and, in particular, roots of pyrethrum. A few grains of these mixed with other stomachics work wonders. First among the rinds are oranges, Winter's bark etc, Parcelsus' tincture of aloes, Minsychti's stomach elixir and likewise the resin of St. John's Wort. Mastic also is an excellent stomachic. Sometimes lye should be taken and all the precipitating agents such as steel, crab's eyes, antimony oxide; at other times volatile substances such as salt of hartshorn, mint etc. And, as a sample, the following formula is prescribed.

℞. Root of elecampane ʒβ
Horse-Radish ʒ ii
Herbs: mint,
scurvy-grass, A. M. S.
Rinds: orange,
citron, ʒ ii of each
Seeds of charlock ʒ i
Salt of tartar ℈ ii

When these are crushed and beaten they must be enclosed in a sachet, over which pour a single measure of wine. Let them remain in a closely covered tankard and have the patient take a draught 2 or 3 times a day of about iii or, if he should shrink from such a copious measure, let him be given Paracelsus' tincture of aloes or xx gt. or more of another of the stomachics with a generous spoonful of wine.

XVIII

Where the fault lies in foetid indigestion, resulting in a ruined appetite and other such symptoms, then subacids, such as the juices of pomegranates, oranges and citrons are suitable, or if stronger remedies are necessary, distillate of sweet salts, sweet nitrates etc are suitable. And, in fact, this formula is prescribed in particular.

℞. Conserve of red roses ʒ ii
Distillate of sweet nitrate, as much as is needed,
to be administered freely.

To be taken after food, about as much as a chestnut in size, or

thereabouts; or, to be taken in drops, two or three times a day in beer acidulated by distillates of subacids.

X I X

When, however, in these conditions the intestines are involved on account of viscosity, bowel purges are sometimes of help and here the following laxatives are the best.

℞. Pills of holy bitters, agaric.
Pills of Rufus ℈ß of each.
Salt of tartar, iv gr.
Oil of orange rind, i gt.

Cook as much as may be needed of Paracelsus' tincture of aloes or syrup of wormwood. Make in the usual way a pill to be swallowed either after a meal or in the morning on an empty stomach. Or let the patient swallow a bolus with up to ʒ ii of holy bitters: to be followed by a draught of warm beer.

X X

Finally, here are some topical applications which occasionally work extremely well and for these there is the following formula.

Pulverise as much mastic elecampane as may be needed.

Spread it on a fine skin sufficient to cover the area of stomach. Stir it with a hot pestle in order to make a plaster which is then to be smeared over with some aromatic oil such as nutmeg, cinnamon, cloves etc, and place on the stomach.

X X I

He who desires more should read the most famous authorities, among whom the chemists are not to be relegated to the lowest place, and extract the most effective things from them as he is able.

Corollaries

I

The stomach's ferment does not flow from the spleen.

II

Heat is not the principle cause of chylification.

III

Chylification can not be accomplished without fermentation.

IV

To say indeed that digestive powers are given to everyone equally and that they have hidden qualities is ridiculous.

V

The foetus does not breathe in the womb.

VI

Heat is the effect of motion.

VII

Rest is equally as real as motion.

VIII

Beasts do not have sensory awareness.

DISPUTATIO MEDICA
INAUGURALIS
DE

CHYLOSI VITIATA.

QUAM

ANNUENTE DIVINA GRATIA
Ex auctoritate Magnifici Rectoris,
D. WOLFERDI SENGUERDII, L.A.M.
Phil. & J. U. Doct. illiusque in Illustri Academiâ
Lugd.-Bat. Professf. ordinarii, celeberrimi, &c.
NEC NON
Amplissimi Senatûs Academici Consensu & Almæ
Facultatis MEDICÆ *Decreto,*
PRO GRADU DOCTORATUS,
Summisque in MEDICINA Honoribus ac Privilegiis
ritè & legitimè consequendis,
Publico examini subjicit
BERNARDUS DE MANDEVILLE, Rotter.-Bat.
Ad diem 30 *Mart. horâ loco que solitis.*

LUGDUNI BATAVORUM,
Apud ABRAHAMUM ELZEVIER,
Academiæ Typograph. MDC XCI.

Doctiſſimo Expertiſſimoque Viro

D. D MICHÄELI
DE MANDEVILLE. M. D.

apud Roterodamenſes practico feliciſſimo, parenti meo ad aras filiali amore proſequendo.

UT ET

Illuſtri admodum facundiſſimoque Viro

D. D. SEBASTIANO
SCHEPERS. J. U. D.

Civitatis Roterodamenſis Syndico, & à Secretis digniſſimo, propter amorem erga me, ſemper colendo

Se & haſce theſes inaugurales

D. D. D.

BERNARDUS DE MANDEVILLE,
Auctor & Reſpondens.

DISPUTATIO MEDICA

INAUGURALIS

DE

CHYLOSI VITIATA.

THES. I.

Cogitanti mihi de materia quadam eligenda promovendis enucleanda, & defendenda præ cæteris arrisit chyli generatio læsa: tum quia malum ubique est maxime vulgare, tum quia plurimi graviores morbi ex hoc malorum fonte originem suam deducunt.

II.

Læsa autem chylificatio practicis in tres partes dividitur suntque hæ βραδυπεψία seu concoctio tarda, vel imminuta, ἀπεψία seu plane abolita, & δυσπεψία seu depravata. Horum vocabulorum etymologiam quod attinet oriunda sunt ex verbo Græco πέπτω, Latine *coquo*, eorumque primo præponitur βραδὺς *tardus*. Secundo α privativo, tertio particula δυς in

compoſitione *malè*, *agrè*, *difficulter* ſignificans; hæcque tria concoctionis ventriculi vitia uno nomine *cruditas* appellantur.

III.

Sed, antequam horum chyloſeos affectuum morboſorum explicationem aggrediamur, prius naturalem ejus ſtatum examinare non abs re fore exiſtimo. Alimenta igitur aſſumta, dentibus maſticata, ſaliva ex glandulis in os depluente permiſta, & muſculis œſophagi deglutita ventriculo ingeruntur, ibique in liquorem quaſi pultaceum, qui chylus appellatur, tranſmutantur. Hæcque actio ob id chyliſicatio dicitur, & ratione modi à veteribus coctio, à modernis fermentatio nominatur.

IV.

Cauſam hujus chyliſicationis primariam, veteres, calorem quendam ventriculo, ut ajebant, innatum eſſe credidere. Sed quia videmus piſces abſque calore alimenta digerere, canes oſſa, gallinas vitra abſumere judicamus calorem ad explicandam hanc actionem minime ſufficere. Ex enim eo qui ſolo in motu conſiſtit nec unquam niſi gradibus differt, quis, quæſo, explicabit illam in ſingulis fere animalibus, etiam iis, qui eiſdem cibis nutriuntur, digerendi varietatem? Turtur, ut teſtantur omnes, helleborum, canis vitrum antimonii optime digerit ſine ulla evomitione; ex quo manifeſtiſſimè patet, cauſam illam digerentem, aliam eſſe in homine, aliam in cane, licet eodem pane nutritis. Præterea in febribus, ubi calor per totum corpus multum auctus eſt, ut appetitus eſt protraſtus, ita & coctio aut omnino abolita, aut certe multum depravata reperitur.

V.

Sic vice verſa in fame canina, ut ibi appetitus eſt ingens, ita cita digeſtio, quamvis tamen calor tunc temporis auctus minime ſit. Poſtremo omnia acida dicuntur frigida, appetitum tamen excitant, digeſtionem promovent. Sic & ex plurimis hypochondriacis, quorum ventriculus, etſi dicatur frigidus, ſæpius avidiſſime cibos appetit, eoſque cito digerit, clare probatur calorem hanc coctionem non efficere. Ex quibus omnibus exiſtimo, ſufficienter demonſtratum eſſe calorem hujus operis cauſam primam non eſſe

VI.

VI.

Remanet ergo; facultates enim jam ubique satis expulsæ sunt, ut fermentationi adhæreamus, dicamusque ventriculo inesse succum quendam, qui instar fermenti pistorii alimenta excitat, eaque fermentationis beneficio transmutat; succus hic naturaliter constitutus est acido volatili temperatus, constatque partim ex Chylo in rugis ventriculi hic & illic remanente, partim ex spiritibus animalibus ibi è cerebro per vasa in ventriculum hiantia delatis. Fuere autem, qui illud fermentum è liene in stomachum deferri volebant: sed quia hi nusquam demonstrare potuerunt ductus aliquos esse, per quos talis succus ex liene in ventriculum deferri posset, merito illam opinionem rejicimus.

VII.

Succus ille ergo ventriculo contenta, jam antea quodammodo comminuta, & saliva deluta acida sua volatilitate incidit, penetrat, resolvit, & ad fermentationem promovet: posset hic quid sit fermentatio fusius explicari, sed de ea hic ex professo (nimis enim longum foret) agere nolens saltem hoc dicam. Fermentationem esse intestinum expansivumque motum in humido conveniente, & spatio libero, citra causam sensibiliter advenientem, factum cum totali, aut partiali corporis fermentati mutatione. Ut jam fermentationem hanc naturali modo procedentem sequitur bona chylificatio; sic è contra eam quovis modo læsam, læsa etiam sequitur chyli generatio & ut primum bona concoctio, sic alterum cruditas appellatur.

VIII.

Cruditas autem hæc dividitur in acidam, & nidorosam; acida est, quando alimenta abeunt in succum acidum, & non sufficienter volatilisatum; nidorosa vero dicitur cruditas, quando ea corrumpuntur, ut abeant in liquamen horridi saporis putrilaginosum, & nutritioni omnino ineptum. Causam proximam quod attinet horum vitiorum; hæc vel erit in ipso ventriculo, vel in ejus fermento depravato, vèl in vitio assumitorum ali-

mentorum. Læſa chylificatio vitio ventriculi cauſas habet omnes ventriculi morbos, inter quas aliquæ etiam ſunt ſecundariæ; ex procedentia enim cartilaginis enſiformis, verrucis ventriculo adnatis, renibus calculo afflictis per conſenſum nervorum ſtomachum inficientibus, ſæpius orta eſſe chylificationis vitia teſtantur auctores.

IX.

Fermentum ſtomachi depravatur primo, quando non eſt ſatis volatile, ſed totum conſtat ex acido nimis fixo, aut cum peregrino acore in ſtomacho corrupto. Nam, ſi reſpiciamus hypochondriacos, aſſumta à fermento quidem prompte inciduntur, & diſſolvuntur; ſed, quia illud ſale volatili ita depauperatum eſt, non procurat alimentis debitam, bonoque chylo neceſſariam fermentationem; ſed è contra non ſolum aſſumta minus convenientia non corrigit; verum etiam, quæ ſale volatili abunde prædita ſunt, acore ſuo nimis fixo in maſſam vitioſe acidam transmutat; unde inprimis cruditas oritur illa, quæ vocatur acida.

X.

Secundo læditur fermentum quando ex perverſo motu peri-ſtaltico ſit, ut bilis in ventriculum regurgitet ibique acidum fermenti naturale ſale ſuo volatili oleoſo debilitet; ita, ut particulæ ejus alias ſatis acutæ ad aſſumta incidenda, nunc partibus bilis oleoſis circumvolutæ ſic hebetentur, ut ineptæ fiant ad penetranda, & diſſolvenda ſtomacho ingeſta, eaque ad ſufficientem fermentationem adaptanda, incitandaque; & ex hoc affectu cruditas oritur nidoroſa. Hiſque de fermento in genere quæ dici ſolent abſolutis operæ pretium erit medico ſpeciales illas, quas quotidie obſervamus fermenti varietates, curioſius examinare. Abunde enim edocemur non tantum in diverſa animalium ſpecie; ſed etiam in unoquoque homine fermenti illam varietatem conſpicuam eſſe ratione cujus, ut variat appetitus, ſic tota aſſumtorum digeſtio; ita ut ea, quæ unus avidè appetit, & hinc facillime digerit, alius reſpuat, aut non niſi cum moleſtia concoquat. Ex quo ſequitur appetitum indicem quaſi eſſe

eſſe monſtrantem, quænam aſſumenda ſint. Nam vulgo, quæ libenter aſſumuntur, facile digeruntur, quoniam illa, quæ appetuntur fere ſemper fermento ſtomachico ſunt amica, eaque, quæ ipſi ſunt amica, aliis ab eo facilius diſſolvuntur, & ad fermentationem incitantur.

XI.

Hinc Hippocrat. nobis injungit in aphoriſmis; appetita inappetitis longe facilius digeri: quod etiam probatur fœminis, præſertim gravidis, pica, & malacia laborantibus. Tulpius habet obſervat: *lib. 2. cap. 24.* de gravida, quæ per tempus geſtationis 1400 haleces devoravit ſine noxa. Platerus in obſervat. refert de puella, quæ comedit cœpam buboni peſtilentiali antea applicatam, etiam citra ullam noxam: quamvis dubitandum non ſit, cœpam veneno plane fuiſſe infectam. Quomodo jam fieri poſſet? ut illa aſſumta appetita, non minus noxia, quam horrenda ab illis ſine ulla noxa digererentur, ſi non eſſent amica; & convenientia fermento ſtomachi. Et ex hoc etiam ſequitur, conſuetudinem ciborum hic multum efficere, adeoque ejus magnam medico habendam eſſe rationem: Cum, & ipſe ait Hippocrat. in omnibus morbis conſueta, licet deteriora, inſuetis licet melioribus, eſſe præferenda. Cauſas harum fermenti varietatum, quod attinet, vel ſunt hæreditariæ, vel à diverſitate ſpirituum, aut pororum, per quos ſegregantur, aut ab ipſis externis petendæ ſunt; hocque ſufficiat de fermento, ejuſque vitio in impedienda ventriculi concoctione.

XII.

Pergo jam ad alterum chyloſcos vitium, nempe ex aſſumtis alimentis ortum. Peccant ergo 1°. aſſumta, quando nimis copioſe ingeſta commode digeri nequeunt. Ratio eſt, quia unumquodque menſtruum fermentativum debitam requirit objecti proportionem, in quod agendum eſt, ſi jam nimia ingeratur alimentorum quantitas, fermentum in tantum obruitur, ut eadem nec diſſolvat ſufficienter nec convenienter fermentando volatiliſet: hinc fit, uti aſſumta nimis copioſe ingeſta; poſtquam quidem

dem accepere acorem fermentativum ; ſed nimis debilem , ut hinc fermententur , abeant & inpaſtam crudam & acidam. 2°. Fermentum nimius potus diluit ; diluendo hebes reddit , & alimenta in ſtomacho ita fluctuare facit , ut in legitima ſua fermentatione impediantur ; denique , quod non eſt omittendum hinc evenit ; ut fibræ ventriculi ita luxentur , & flaccidæ reddantur , ut digeſta licet alimenta per pylorum commode expelli nequeant ; quo fit , ut ea diutius in ventriculo detenta corrumpantur , multaque pariant mala.

XIII.

3°. Digeſtionem turbat ciborum varietas ; quamvis enim fermentum ſtomachicum valeat varios admodum cibos diſſolvere, certum tamen eſt , id magis ad hunc , quam ad illum cibum determinari , ſi ergo acida cum dulcibus , pinguia cum macris ſimul ingerantur , & fermentum in hoc magis , quam in illud agat , neceſſe eſt , ut vitietur digeſtio , & oriantur multæ cruditates. Cum muco in ventriculo reſiduo , quod enim non bene digeritur vix per pylorum tranſmittitur ; unde cruda & acida illa mucilago tam fibras ventriculi nervoſas , quam ipſum fermentum obruit. Quod ciborum qualitatem attinet ; certum eſt ex nimis acidis aſſumtis oriri cruditates acidas ; ex nimis pinguibus , nidoroſas. Sic etiam in genere lædunt aſſumta duriora , quæ ſunt concoctu difficiliora ; ut etiam ea , quæ nimis frigida , humida , flatuoſaque exiſtunt. Cauſis explicatis , ut ordinem ſervemus , tranſeamus ad ſigna diagnoſtica , quæ hæc fere ſunt.

XIV.

Ægri conqueruntur de ſtomachi dolore poſt paſtum , de ejus inflatione , de ructibus continuis , ab aſſumtione ciborum 5. vel 6. horas durantibus , iſque proprium ciborum ſaporem repræſentantibus , ſæpius de difficili reſpiratione quando dorſo incumbunt aut ambulant conqueruntur : nunc facies rubore tingitur , nunc appetitus eſt proſtratus , mucus in os è ventriculo aſcendens provenit copioſus , præſertim tempore matutino. In cruditate acida laborantibus ructus ſunt acidi , flatus plurimi & om-

omnia, quæ per vomitum ejiciuntur ſunt pituitoſa, viſcida, & craſſa, ſaporis, ſi guſtentur, acidi. In cruditate vero nidoroſa rectus ſunt fœtidi & horridi referuntque ægrotis ſaporem ovorum, & piſcium corruptorum olei frixi & ſimilium ingratorum per vomitum, ejecta aquoſa, vel plane inſipida, vel param amaricantia ſunt.

XV.

Quo ad prognoſin coctionis vitium, quod à cauſis externis excitatur, facile corrigitur: item, quod oritur ab humoribus ex aliis partibus in ventriculum delatis, facilius curatu eſt eo, quod ex ipſo oritur ventriculo. Oportet tamen, ut in prognoſi hic ſemper cautus admodum ſit medicus. Si enim inveterata ſit illa cruditas, affectus producit omnium graviſſimos. Si ex ebrioſitate lædatur concoctio, malumque diu perſeverat, metus eſt hydropis apepſiam, ſi non cito corrigatur, ut plurimum ſequetur lienteria, quando enim fermentum ſtomacho contenta non incidit, nec ullo modo fermentationi adaptat, nullam aut certe parvam acquirent mutationem. Cæterum ex cruditate acida oriuntur colica, cholera, diarrhæa, dyſenteria, fluxus cæliacus, hæmorrhoidalis, teneſmus, &c. Imo aucta acredine, eaque per maſſam ſanguinis diſtributa orientur febres tam continuæ, quam intermittentes, ſcorbutus, malum hypochondriacum & quævis hujuſmodi. Poſtea acidum illud, jam corroſivum & ipſas artus arripit: ibique omnes arthritidis ſpecies procreat; denique cauſa eſſe poteſt omnium morborum chronicorum, qui ex obſtructionibus viſcerum meſenterii, hepatis, & lienis oriri putantur. Conſtat ergo, læſam hanc chylificationem affectum eſſe, ex quo, tanquam ex morborum oceano, cæteri affectus ſuam originem trahunt. Quapropter feſtinandum erit, ut aliqua huic malo remedia parentur.

XVI.

In curatione ergo ſcopus ſit; primo, omnes illas ventriculi ſordes, mucum, & ſuccos in ſtomacho hærentes, propter morum diuturnam acidos, & craſſos removere. Secundo fermen-

tum,

tum, quantum fieri poteſt, corrigere, & in naturalem ſtatum reducere ante omnia origo convenient vomitoria, inter quæ antimonialia ſunt cæteris præponenda: ut ſunt vina emetica ex vitro antimonii, tartar. emet. mercurius vitæ; ſed ante omnia præferenda liquida, quia pulveres, propterea quod rugis ventriculi ſæpe inhæreant, vomitum immanem pariant. In ſpecie poteſt hæc præſcribi formula.

℞. Croci metallor.

vel

Vitri antimonii gr. viij vel x nil enim refert

ſi modo bene attendatur ad liquidi quantitatem: adde

vini Hiſpanici ℥iiß in fortioribus ℥iij

ſtent per noctem loco tepido, mane colentur per chartam bibulam, ſicque calide propinetur ægro, ſuperbibendo poſt horam, vel quando nauſea ſentitur, cereviſiam calidam butyro permiſtam: quibus ſæpius addenda; ut vomitus facilius promoveatur titillatio, plumæ anſerinæ in fauces immiſſæ; & ut cum antimoniatis eodem modo cum mercurialibus procedi poteſt.

XVII.

Secundo loco ſequuntur ſtomachum corrigentia, ut ſunt radic. zedoariæ, enul. campan., calami aromat., ſingiberis, galangæ minoris, pimpinellæ, & præſertim radicis pirethri ad pauca grana cæteris ſtomachicis admiſta mira efficiunt. Inter cortices primi ſunt aurantior., citri Winteranii &c. elixir prop. paracel., elixir ſtomachicum Minſychti, ut & illud Johannis Michaëlis, maſtix etiam optimum eſt ſtomachicum nunc propinanda ſunt falia lixivioſa, & omnia præcipitantia, ut chalybs oculi canc. antimon. diaphoret. nunc volatilia, ut ſal cornucervi, menthæ &c. & pro his omnibus præſcribatur formula ſequens.

℞. Rad. enulæ campan. ℥ß

Armoraciæ ℥ij

Herbar. menthæ

Cochler. A. M. S.

Cort. aurant.

Citri ana ʒij

Se-

Seminis erucæ ʒj
Sal tartari ℈ij

Quæ conciſa, & contuſa includantur nodulo, cui ſuperfunde vini menſuram unam, maneant in cantharo bene clauſo, bibatque hinc æger quotidie bis terve hauſtum ad ʒiij. vel, ſi abhorreat à copioſo potu, detur elix. prop. p., vel alius ſtomachici gt. xx vel ultra ex cochleari vini generoſi.

XVIII.

Ubi vero peccat eruditas nidoroſa; unde appetitus proſtratus, & hujuſmodi ſymptomata; ſubacida: ut ſucci granator., aurant., citri, vel, ſi fortius procedendum ſit; ſpir. ſalis dulcis, nitri dulcis &c. conveniunt. Et præcipue quidem hæc præſcribatur formula.

℞. Conſerv. roſar. rubr. ʒij
Spir. nitri dulcis qſ. ad grat.

Capiant hinc poſt paſtum magnitudinem caſtaneæ, vel circiter, vel utantur guttatim bis terve de die cereviſia ſpir. ſubacidis acidulata.

XIX.

Quando autem in his affectibus inteſtina etiam participent de viſcoſitate, nonnunquam proſunt purgantia per alvum, & hic optimæ ſunt pullulæ ſequentes.

℞. Pill. hier. C. Agar.
rufi ana ℈ß.
Sal. tartar. gr. iv.
Ol. cort. aurant. gt. j.

C. S. Q. elix. prop. par. vel ſyrup. abſinth. F. S. A: Pill. eſo v. mane jejuno ſtomacho deglutiendæ. Vel deglutiat æger bolum ex hiera picra ad ʒij, ſuperbibendo cereviſiam calidam.

XX.

Ultimo hic convenient topica, quæ aliquando non parum faciunt, & pro his ſit formula ſequens.

Ma-

℞. Maſtich. elec. pulverizat. qſ.
Inſparge corio tenuiſſimo ad tegendam
Stomachi regionem ſufficienti, piſtillo fervido agita, ut fiat emplaſtrum, quod poſtea illinatur oleo aliquo aromatico; ut nucis moſchatæ, cinamom., caryophillor. &c. & apponatur regioni ſtomachi.

XXI.

Plura qui cupit legat auctores celeberrimos, & pro captu excerpat efficaciſſima, inter quos chymici non ſunt ultimo loco habendi.

COROLLARIA.

I.

Fermentum ſtomachicum non fluit è liene.

II.

Calor non eſt primaria chylificationis cauſa.

III.

Chylificatio abſque fermentatione peragi nequit.

IV.

Dicere enim dari facultatem concoctricem æque ridiculum eſt, ac dari qualitates occultas.

V.

Fœtus in utero non reſpirat.

VI.

Calor eſt effectum motus.

VII.

Quies eſt æque realis ac motus.

VIII.

Bruta non ſentiunt.

FINIS.

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